# NON–BRAHMIN MOVEMENT IN SOUTHERN INDIA 1873–1949

**Kasinath K. Kavlekar**

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# PREFACE

**Non–Brahmin movement in Southern India 1873–1949**

**Non–Brahmin movement in Southern India 1873–1949,** by Dr. K. K. Kavlekar adds to the other number of other valuable studies relating to non–Brahmin movements in the Madras and Bombay Presidency. However, the special feature of Dr. K. K. Kavlekar's work is that it brings out clearly the interrelationships between the non–Brahmin movement in the two regions. His view that starting from the pioneering work of Jotiba Phule in Maharashtra this movement exibits a continuity of development through the efforts of Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur and of the Justice Party in Madras to the emergence of **D. K. and D. M. K.** in Tamil Nadu, is adequately substantiated. In fact an important merit of this work is that it brings into clear focus the major role played by Shri Shahu in the regeneration of the non–Brahmin movement in Southern India through his close association with the leaders of the Justice Party such as Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir. P. T. Chettiar, Raja of Panagal and Sir Ramswami Mudaliar etc. In this connection it is interesting to note that the policies implemented by the Justice Party Ministers in Madras have close resemblance to the reforms introduced by Shri Shahu Maharaja in Kolhapur.

It is commonly known that the **D. K.** and the **D. M. K.** were in a broad sense the continuation of the Justice Party. All the same Dr. Kavlekar has contrasted convincingly the All–India perspective of Shri Shahu and the Justice Party against the Tamil Separatism of the **D. K.** and, to a lesser extent, of the **D. M. K.** Moreover, the absence of a mass base in the politics of the Justice Party has been brought forth effectively. However I must say that the analysis in the work of the nationalist movement in India is some what biased being based primarily on, one–sided views of British Journalist and officials.

In my view Dr. Kavlekar has succeeded in breaking new ground in this field of study by delineating the impact of Shri Shahu on the non-Brahmin movement in the Madras Presidency. One strong point of the thesis is that the author has based his major conclusions on unpublished data painstakingly collected from correspondence and documents in the Record Office at Kolhapur. The work on the whole is of a high academic standard.

**Prof. G. B. Sardar**
Poona.

# ABBREVIATIONS

*The following abbreviations are used in the Notes*

| | |
|---|---|
| **K. R. O.** | *Kolhapur Record Office.* |
| **M. R. O.** | *Madras Record Office.* |
| **F. No.** | *File Number.* |
| **Lt. No.** | *Letter Number.* |

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# 1 : SPREAD OF BRAHMINISM IN SOUTHERN INDIA

The religion of the Rig-Veda was pre-eminently pragmatic. Much that is typical of what may be called classical Hinduism, the Hinduism of Upanishads and the later cults derives not from the invading Aryans, but, strangely enough, from the populations they conquered, the Dasyus. "Throughout this decisive period the descendents of the invaders comprised the upper group, while those of the indigenous people, often called 'Dravidian' constituted the lower group."[1] The Rig-Veda itself introduced the idea of immutability of caste by laying stress upon the fact of birth. *Purusa* attributes the origin of each caste to a particular organ. Once the theory was formulated that caste was dependent upon birth, it gradually laid its hold upon the ideology and practice of India, and each succeeding period of History saw its influence spread over the society. Caste in ancient India was an institution, for almost all its ingredients are to be found in the Vedas. Race, tribe, class, occupation, creed, and ritual are the elements which have gone into its making. In the Aryan society, as reflected in the Rig-Veda, there appears to be a contrast between the Aryan who possessed a fair colour, and a fine nose; and the non-Aryan, Dasa, or Dasyu who is dark, and has a snub nose.

The later Samhitas which are chronologically separated from the period of the Rig-Veda are influenced by the same spirit. The institutions and the ideas discussed in the Samhitas and the Brahmanas, have had far

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1 Talcott Parsons, *Societies Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives*, Harward University, 1966, p. 78.

reaching results in the traditional and social history of India. This period covers the chronological range of nearly 400 years (1000 B. C. –600 B. C.) This literature represents the most vital period of the institutions of the Aryan Society in India, which has left a heavy impact on the Hindu world. It is during these periods that the Brahmanas won status and privileges for themselves and strengthened their position. It can be stated that it is in this period that Brahminism embodied in the Samhitas show signs of schism caused by Mahavira and the Buddha.[2]

In the Rig-Veda the Caste-System was well known, and there was a conflict between the Aryans and Dasas which was also a conflict between upper castes and the lower ones. In Samhitas the situation that prevailed in the social and political life has undergone a change. The Aryans had succeeded in subduing the dasa-dasyus by the end of the Rig-Vedic period and these formidable people were no longer a resisting force. Hence as Aryans succeeded in occupying the land that lies between the Punjab and Bengal and between the Himalayas, the fertile plain land of northern India, the economic life of the Aryas changed when they passed from the Rig-Veda to the Brahmanas in which they subdued the dasa or dasyus. The problems which the Aryans faced in these days were more internal, and there was no external danger. And it is this process which has contributed to the strength of the Brahmans (because it was a problem of the social relations within the various groups of people.), their position, privileges and disabilities. These questions assumed great importance in due course. The theory of four castes *viz.*, Brahmana, Ksatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, seems to be very popular and hence they are repeatedly mentioned in the passages of the Samhitas.[3] In the Samhitas, the theory of four castes which is found to be popular and predominant, was not confined to the human beings alone but it was extended even to Gods, seasons, animals, time etc., for example:

> "Agni and Brihaspati are the Brahmans; Indra, Varuna, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya and Yama are the Ksatriyas, 8 Vasus, 11 Rudra, 12 Adityas, Visvadevas and Maruts are the Vaisyas and Pusan is Sudra."[4]

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2 See Chapter on Philosophy, in the *Samhitas.*

3 *Tai. Sam.* IV. 3.10; *Mait. Sam.* IV. 4.6; *Tai. Br.* III. 12.9,2.; *Sat, Br.* XIII. 8.3.11.

4 *Tai. Sam.* 11.5, 10.1; *Mait. Sam.* 1.10.13, 1.9.10; *Tai. Br.* 1.1.2,4; *Tai. Br.* 1.1.9; Ait Br. VII. 23, VII. 4.6.8, 16.17; *Tandya Maha.* Br. III. 1.6.11; *Kav. Br.* III. 5. IV. 8, IX. 5, XVI 4; *Sat Br.* 11,1.3.5, V. 1.5. 2-3. V. 2,4.1, XIII. 2.2.15. XIV. 4.2,23-25.

Brahmins were the most dominant class in the history of Hindu civilization. The role that Visvamitra, Vasistha, Bhrigu and others played in the social and political life of the Aryas of the Rig-Veda show that they were already a force to be reckoned with even at that early age. When we come to the later Vedic age we find that Brahmins, already covering a wide area, were expanding their sphere of influence more widely. The Samhitas and the Brahmanas declare in no uncertain terms, the aims the objectives and the ambitions of the Brahmins. Brahmins were the religious leaders and hence had an advantage of influencing the psychology of the whole society. The whole Vedic literature is more or less a ritual literature composed by the Brahmins, for that literature shows that the position and prerogatives which the Brahmins claimed for themselves were almost without limit. They even went to the extent of exalting their position to that of gods.

**Brahmins and Divinity**

The Brahmanas and the Samhitas speak in very precise terms about the importance assumed by the Brahmins. Taittariya Brahmana declares that Brahman is all gods and Brahmanas ( Brahmins ) therefore belong to the group of gods.[5] In the Atharva Veda it is claimed that the Brahmins are the mouths of the Gods; therefore, the gods convey their thoughts to men through the Brahmanas, Brahmana's desire is the desire of the gods. This being their position, it is further said that the Brahmanas must be gratified to earn the religious merit and fulfil other purposes of life.[6] Taittariya Samhita says that the Brahmanas are gods on earth whom people can see directly.[7] "Brahmanas are like gods, and therefore, they are invited to sit around Soma and eat the oblation."[8] Brahmanas are the kith and kin of gods, and those who insult Brahmanas do not go to heaven to which their fore-fathers ( PITRS ) have gone.[9] Those who insult the Brahmanas live as the insulters of gods among mortal swallowing poison.[10]

Brahman's pre-eminence has been asserted throughout the Brahminical literature. The different types of rules were claimed by the Brahmanas to be applied to them both in the court of law and outside.

Taittiriya Samhita ( 11.5.11.9) states—

" If a Brahman and non-Brahman have a litigation, one should

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5 *Tai. Br.* 1.4.4. See also 1.2.6.
6 *AV.* XIII. 4.20, 31.
7 *Tai. Sam.* 1.7.3,1.
8 *AV.* XI. 1.26.
9 *AV.* V. 18.3.
10 *AV.* V. 18.3.

support the Brahman, if one supports the Brahman one supports oneself, if one opposes the Brahman, one opposes oneself, therefore one should not oppose a Brahman".

In this passage, even the legal position of the Brahmin is made out in such a way that one should speak only in favour of a Brahmin in the court of law. " An arbitrator ( or a witness ) must decide ( or speak ) for a Brahmin against a non-Brahmin even in legal disputes.[11] There are again different passages which show the influence of the Brahmins. Thus Samhitas and Brahmanas have made a claim for special treatment of the Brahmins both in the court of law and outside. Priesthood was the main profession of the Brahmins. During this period a number of branches of Brahamincal families sprang up and among them sprang up divisions, based on their adherence to a particular school of Veda. As a result of this " the peculiar family constitution or the Gotra tradition, whereby exogamy as well as endogamy regulated marriage connections, and whereby a man should normally marry a woman of equal birth i. e. within his caste, but not of the same gens or within the gotra; this was another factor in the development of complications and distinctions in the caste-system.[12]

A number of Vedic schools that imparted the knowledge of sacrifice meticulously rose to prominence during the period. The details of the Yajna went on increasing; new rituals, or sacrifices were introduced to accommodate more and more members of the priestly guild. " Rig-Veda mentions only seven priests whereas Samhitas and Brahmanas speak about more than seventeen priests. "[13] All this was an attempt of the Brahmins to expand the field of employment opportunities and acquire handsome incomes through Yajnas. In complicated affairs of Yajna perhaps people listened to all that the Brahmins said and agreed to all that they demanded. " According to the passages in the Atharva Veda, Brahmins used to receive not only food but gold, grains of the field, cows, horses, goats, sheep etc.,"[14]

" Not only this but for the security of their property too Brahmins seem to have already waged a battle on other fronts like exemption from taxes or from other forms of oppression. For example according to the Atharva Veda, the cow of the Brahmana is unfit for eating and the kings who

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11 *Vedic Index*, Vol. II. p. 83.
12 Vedic Age, p.454.
13 Refer Chapters on *Yajna*.
14 *AV*. VI. 71.1, XI. 1.28.

eat the cow of the Brahmanas eat poison and perish."[15] The king who takes away the cow of the Brahmana loses his brightness (Tejas) and his kingdom. No lusty son will be born to him. The king has no right over the cow of the Brahmanas because his cow is created by penance and Brahmana acquires her by righteousness, truth, fortune and glory.[16]

Brahmins alone had the right to act as priests. Priest-hood was a profession solely confined to the caste of Brahmanas. Aittariya Brahmana lays down clearly that Brahmana alone can act as priest in the Yajna.[17] It is declared that Brahmin and knowledge were inseparable. Brahmin means knowledge and knowledge means Brahmin was a fixed formula. When a doubt was raised about the parenthood or the caste of man, an answer was provided that since the man has the knowledge of Vedas (sacrifice) he cannot be other than Brahman."[18] This shows the monopoly of the Brahmanas in the learning of the Vedas. That Brahmana alone is capable and has a right to become a teacher was firmly established. "When the Brahmana, Gargeya went to Ajatasatru, the king of Kasi, for seeking instructions in the knowledge of Brahma, Ajatasatru said if it is contrary to the law that a Brahman should approach a Ksatriya,[19] it is also said that Brahman is truth or he alone is capable of speaking truth."[20]

These statements point to the influence which Brahmins as a caste enjoyed in the later Vedic period. It was this traditional policy of those days which had divided the Indian society. The monopoly of power was completely vested with the monopoly of knowledge. The learned class, the learned individual the Brahmana was the custodian of law, religion and justice. He was the only authority competent to decide and give verdicts, which required knowledge of rules of law, judicial procedures and the punishments which were suitable. Heavy responsibility, therefore, rested upon the Brahmins. The Brahmins were responsible for the spiritual and moral welfare of society and the very continuity and coherence of the social system depended upon the Brahmin. They were the upholders of the Vedic religion, and they looked upon themselves as an exclusive class as practitioners and professors of religion. They always considered it incumbent upon them to study the dogmas, doctrines and theology and to practice its rites and ceremonies. They did not feel concerned if the other caste failed to conform to

15 V. 18.1.
16 *AV.* V. 19.4, XII. 5. 1-2.
17 *Ait.* Br. VIII. 28.
18 *Kathak Sam*, XXX. 1. See *Tai. Sam.* VI. 6.4.
19 *Br. Up.* 11.1.15; *Kau. Up.* IV. 18. 1-2.
20 *Chandogya Upanisad*, AV. V. 19.4, XII.5.

it. Besides they were so conservative that they tolerated no deviation from social rules or rituals of worship. Brahmins as members of the dominant caste, not only pursued Brahminism but they always resisted popular pressures by adumberating the doctrine of stages of spiritual evolution and formulating a variety of standards for different castes. The Vedic rites and sacrifices were reserved for the Brahmins, but for the other castes the religion of Puranas was good enough. It is to this aspect that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar refers when he states " the law of Chaturvarnya prohibited the Shudras from pursuing knowledge. "[21]

The Upanishads, more than a hundred in number, are closely related to the commentaries upon the Vedas. The term Upanishad means "a session." This points to the collective efforts made by the Brahmins to compose Upanishads. It was not an individual effort but a collective effort. Upanishads are believed to be spiritual writings. They are inspired writings of sages and seers (rishis) like the Vedas. It is again these Upanishads which are called Vedanta ( the ultimate of the Vedas). The term Vedanta is an extended meaning to include the great philosophical commentaries of the inspired Rishis on Upanishads. The two greatest among them are Sankara of 9th Century A. D. and Ramanuja of 11th Century A.D. During these periods the power and influence of Brahmins grew apace. The Sudras were excluded from society by the upper castes because, their habits and occupation were looked down upon as unclean. The Vaisyas were not permitted to offer sacrifices. The Brahmins got themselves exempted from paying taxes. They became a well organised priestly class and realised that the immense social power they possessed entitled them to be the monopolists, custodians of social knowledge and sacrifice. All along the period of traditional politics there was oppression of the non-Brahmins and glorification of the position of Brahamanas. It is doubtful whether there existed any period in the social history of India in which this conflict was unknown to Indian society.

Since the highest position in the society in the Upanishads was accorded to the intellectual aristocracy, learning and education were perennial. In this field the Brahmins enjoyed virtual monopoly. Society was regarded as an organic whole made up of many parts. Each part for example was a distinct class or caste, and each individual in each part had the duties of Dharma connected with it. Thus "secular society was regarded as human arena for the operation of Karma and transmigration in such a way that it

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21 Keer. D.: *Dr. Ambedkar Life and Mission* Popular, Bombay, P. 269.

related to Karma, coincided with Dharma, the performance of traditional obligations of caste status."[22]

Each class or caste had its own rights and privileges fixed by custom and tradition. The supreme duty of the king was to protect the caste and orders in accordance with justice. It was said that a king and a Brahman deeply versed in the Vedas upheld the moral order of the world. Strangely enough, the killing of a Brahman was alone regarded as a murder and the penalty was death. But for killing a Kshatriya the fine was one thousand cows, for killing a Vaishya one hundred cows, and for killing a Sudra 10 cows only. Hence the Vedas, Upanishads, and Vedanta are full of religious and philosophical themes, with the great theme of salvation and union with Brahman. Further the Mahabharata and the Ramayana are the great epics of India. India has its own great epics as other nations, which contain legends and sagas of great men and heroes.

Originating in the upper classes with special reference to Brahmins the cultural movement became highly complex. Hinduism led by the Brahmins, became the predominant element of the later cultural and organisational framework of Indian society. Brahmans not only pursued Brahminism but had to confront many challenges from Buddhism, Jainism and Islamism.

The Buddha, 'the Englightened one' born in 563 B. C. was the prince and heir of Sakya. He was brought up in a Kshatriya tradition but it is not known from where he acquired Brahmanical learning. He was very much influenced by the intellectual and religious unrest of his age and was dissatisfied with the life of ease and pleasure. He had a born urge for devotion of his life and energy to the task of enlightenment of all those who came to him for guidance to the path of truth. He would make his disciples teach and train others. The rich and the poor, learned and the illiterate came to him. Thus a great religious order grew up without any gradations like the castes in Hinduism. The Buddhist movement and its teachings did not speak of any God or great scriptures like Hinduism or any Brahminical sacrifices. The Buddha deliberately cut himself from traditionalism or orthodoxy which was practised by Brahminism. In his days these practices were conventional and meaningless for the people. He could not tolerate the exploitation of the people by this priestly class in the name of God and religion. Further, Buddhism was more radical in devaluing life in this world in favour of mystical withdrawal. Buddhism did not give its sanction to caste after the Brahmin manner,

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22 Weber, *The Religion of India,* op. cit., Zimmer.

but treated all secular affairs as of little consequence. It is striking that on long term, stable, large-scale political organisation was established on the Brahminic base. Although India developed many principalities and kingdoms, only one primarily Hindu empire gained considerable size and period during the Gupta dynasty of the 4th century A. D.. Of course, notable efforts were made by Ashoka of the Mauryan dynasty. But Ashoka's synthesis disintegrated very rapidly both politically and culturally after his death. After that the consolidation of Hinduism and the caste-system proceeded apace under the strong leadership of the Brahmins who, as a group, wrongly reacted against Ashoka. The Buddhist movement gradually weakened and was eventually externed from India. Nevertheless, Buddhism became a formidable rival of Brahminical Hinduism. There may be many similarities in these two religions, but they are incompatible not only as religious doctrines, but also as social forces. Hinduism is rooted in caste; Buddhism repudiates castes. Hence in the later developments it was a question of one or the other, and again, Hinduism prevailed.

Further, we find that Jainism was also preached in India. Jainism is intimately associated with Mahavira himself. Jainism is a profoundly pessimistic philosophy and religion, which believes that earthly existence, from the cradle to the grave is an aweful burden to all men without any exception. To live in this world is to act in this world, and to act in this world is to be influenced and impelled by desire. Hence desire is the root cause that misguides man's life on this earth. Hence the desire should be conquered. This desire should be cut steadily by calm contemplation of and absorption in the Supreme God of perfect enlightenment which gives liberation (Moksha), complete, final and irrevocable, from the cycle of births (Samsara) and confers Tirthankara-hood upon those who reach it.

In Buddhism as well as Jainism "Dharma" was a notion common to Hindu Brahminism. It has at one and the same time a moral and a religious content. Indeed, Dharma is the whole of morality and religion and the bedrock of society. It was a religious and ethical concept related to the individual in the context of society, and again, Dharma was something that was common to Hindu Brahminism. The monopoly in spiritual leadership which the twice-born asserted could no longer be maintained. "Though the intellectual impulse came from the great minds of aristocracy in both cases, Buddhism and Jainism were essentially democratic movements, and Ashoka in putting himself at the head of one and extending state patronage to the other, made himself a great popular leader, while he disarmed the hostility

of the Brahman priesthood by his tolerant attitude towards all religious sects.[23] Jainism and Buddhism in the later period came under the influence of Hinduism. Hinduism had been subjected to endless forms of revivals and the important aspect of these revivals is that, whenever such efforts were made, it again had its own shape. Brahmins are the sacerdotal caste in India and at the same time the proudest and closest aristocracy that world has had ever since. "In seventh century Buddhism at the height of its ascendency in China had lost to a great extent its influence as a popular religion in India, both in the North and South. It was, therefore, to be expected that orthodox Brahmanism could seize the opportunity of Harsha's death to reassert its political supremacy in Aryavarta.[24] The organisation of Buddhism, which as a sectarian group, had lost its intellectual influence in India before Islam gained a footing in the Indus Valley, which was entirely broken up as the stream of the Muhammadan invasions spread over Hindustan. "Upto the middle of the 7th Century, India was almost exclusively Hindu India. The dominant religion was Hinduism, the dominant culture was Hindu, and society was a caste structure."[25] But after the death of Harsha (648 A. D.) who tried to reconstruct the Gupta empire, the problem of Hindu–Muslim relations cropped up. The first effect of the Muhammadan invasions and the break up of many ancient seats of Brahmanical learning was, therefore, " a great impetus to Aryan culture in Dekhan and Southern India, a rush of learned Brahmans and skilled Hindu craftsmen to the friendly shelter of the Chola and the Rashtrakuta court or those of their tributaries. This migration may have influenced, if it did originate, the religious movement of which Ramanuja, and Vaishnava reformers were the leaders."[26] Brahminical influence, if it had any effect, had the same effect as that of Islamic invasions, by which they started moving from the North to the South and avoided the polluting touch of barbarians by emigration, or if circumstances compelled them to remain, began to seek *a modsvivendi* with the temporal power which supplaunted their own. Mahmud Ghazni started his invasions of India in 1001 A. D. Wherever he went in Northern India, he destroyed temples and idols, ransacked treasuries, slaughtered the Hindus who refused to be converted to Islam and spread havoc and desolation on such a vast scale that it made a contemporary writer Al–Biruni to state that " the scattered remains of Hindus cherish the most

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23 E. B. Havell, *The History of Aryan Rule.* G. Harrap, Calcutta, 1950 P. 99.

24 Ibid. P. 249.

25 E. D.' Cruz S. J., *India, the Quest for Nationhood,* Lalvani, Bombay, 1967, p.68.

26 E. B. Havell, *The History of Aryan Rule,* pp. 324-327.

inveterate hatred of Muslims."[27] Because of the influence and hold of Muhammadan empire and their invasions in the North from 1030–1186 A. D. after Mahmud Ghazni, the South came under the influence of Brahmanical teachers who, in the ninth century, found a new exponent in Sankaracharya who had defeated the Jains in Southern India and completed the process by popularising the *advaita* philosophy of the Vedanta–the theory of 'One without the other' which was the Brahminical version of the Muslim faith– "There is no God But Allah." The Islamic movement which tried to convert the majority of Indian population to Islam spread. But India from ancient times has always been particularly vulnerable to foreign rule. Hence even Islam had to accept the traditional politics, the politics of Brahminism based on Hinduism–a compromise between a Islamic minority and the Hindu majority.

> " For just as in the days of Ashoka the intellectual aristocracy of Aryavarta began to make the teaching the Buddha its own by formulating its metaphysical theories and giving them a Vedic interpretation, so the Brahman of the 13th Century and the 14th Century began to shape the metaphysics of Islam. It was into this effort that finer spirits of Hinduism put their greatest strength and achieved the greatest results. In the service of Islam they healed the gaping wounds of their beloved motherland and won back by spiritual weapons what they had lost on the battle field." [28].

Brahminism has, from time immemorial, dominated Hindu society, dominated ( according to the Hindu Nationalists) for its salvation.

> If Mother India, writes one of them " though reduced to a mere skeleton by the oppression of alien rulers during hundreds of years, still preserves her vitality, it is because the Brahmans have never relaxed in their devotion to her. She has witnessed political and social revolutions, famines and pestilence have shorn her of her splendour. But the Brahmans have stood by her all the vaccissitudes of fortune."[29]

This makes it amply clear as to how Brahmans have played a vital role, and how brahmanism remained a dominant factor throughout the ages. It points out how the brahmanism has migrated to various places either in the North or in the South. In this context, it may also be useful to see as to

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27 Edward, D'Cruz, S. J., *India the Quest for Nation-hood,* Bombay, 1967, p. 69.
28 E. B. Havell, *The History of Aryan Rule*, pp. 324–327.
29 Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest, Macmillan London, 1910. p. 32.*

how they came to be influential in Maharashtra. There are various theories in this regard. As stated already, the migration was due to the rise of the Muslim Empire. Besides this, it is also stated that

> "In the epics, Maharashtra is known by the name *Dandakarnya* or Dandaka forest. It is clear from the mention of the *Godavari*, one of the most important rivers in Maharashtra. Indeed, even today, Marathi speaking Brahmins in the course of their rituals, refer to their country as *Dandakaranya*, and not as Maharashtra. Strangely enough, it was one of the last parts of India conquered by the Aryan invaders. It was long protected by the peaks and forests of the Vindhyas and Satpuras. The Aryans overran the Ganges valley from the west to the east, and it was not until they reached the eastern shores of India that they were able to turn to the Vindhya mountains. They then conquered Southern India from East to West. In the extreme South the Aryans were unable to impose their language on the already highly civilized Cholas, Pandyas and Keralas. But although the Dandakaranya was one of the last of their conquests,the triumph of the Aryans was as complete as in Northern India. The Rakshasas or aboriginal tribes were soon absorbed or driven from valley to the hills. A race sprung from the union of Aryan invaders and captive women took their place; and Marathi, the tongue which the descendants of that race speak today is as closely allied to the ancient Sanskrit as any of her elder sisters in the northern plains. "[30]

Hence these two references which show that Brahmins migrated from North to South, have greater importance when we find that the Brahmin migration has taken place due to the Muslim invasions, and they came in search of shelter to the Chola and the Rashtrakuta Court, or those of their subordinates. During the same period the Brahmins also came in touch with the Maratha dynasties,

> "and the three distinct families of the Silāhāras ruling in Northern Koṅkan (Thānā House), Southern Konkan and the South Marāthā Country, comprising the modern districts of Kolhapur, Sangli, and Satara. They were independent rulers."
> "The first two dynasties were founded in the middle of the 9th Century A. D. in the days of the later Chālukyas of Kalyānī.

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30 Kincaid and Parsnis, *History of the Maratha* People, (Oxford), Vol. I, 1918, pp. 4.5.

That in the Northern Konkan rose in about 800 A. D. and remained in existence for four centuries and a half. That in the South Konkan rose a little earlier in C.770 A. D. and continued to exist till C.1020 A. D. The third dynasty was founded by Jatiga in 10th Century A. D. and had a distinguished career for over two centuries. The rulers of these families recognised as their overlords the Rashtra–Kutas, the Chalukyas, the Kadambas and Yadavas in that order.[31]

This difference helps to show that Brahmins when migrated in search of shelter, to the Chola and Rashtrakuta courts, and were resisted by the Cholas and Rashtrakutas, they came under the shelter of the Silaharas in Konkan. Although, there are other theories regarding their migration, the fear of Muslim invasion has a great deal to do with the migration of Aryans (Brahmins) into the South.

**Marathas and the Influence of Brahmins in Southern India A Brief History**

Of all the contestants for the succession to the empire, the Marathas were in advantageous position. Maharashtra was endowed with a very natural and compact territory. The low range of Western Ghats which runs spine–like between the Plateau and the sea coast, the table lands of Western Deccan and Konkan form the homeland of the Marathas. The valley contains rich soil. Marathas under the mild rule of the Ahmednagar and Bijapur Sultans, had abundant chances to prosper and rise to a great influence, but instead they entered the service of the Sultans and some Marathas even obtained offices of trust and responsibility. In the seventeenth century the dynastic rivalries for succession among the Sultanates of the Deccan gave an impetus to the ambitions of the Maratha Chiefs. Marathas were fortunate enough to find a great leader at the right movement who possessed the highest qualities of a statesman and soldier. It was Shivaji who could bind together the scattered elements which had remained subjected to the rulers hailing from the North for some three to five hundred years.

Shivaji could achieve something which was impossible for any other empire. He could throw out the Deccan Sultans and could unify the Marathas under one state, and could establish a stable and sound state. Shivaji's religious outlook was secular, and he was a follower of Hinduism. In fact Ramdas and other Maratha saints wanted to bring the followers of

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31 B. G. Kunte, "The Silaharas of Kolhapur. ( A Political Sketch )," *Journal of Shivaji University*, Vol. I, July 1968. p. 23.

Hinduism and Islam together. In Hinduism they disapproved idol worship, superstition, caste, etc. Similarly, they were opposed to the spirit of Muslim intolerance. " In a secular state every citizen is free to follow his own religion and the state has no religion of its own nor is it against any religion as such. There are two letters, both important in themselves, that throw good light on Shivaji's views on religion. The first in the famous letters imposed the poll tax on the Hindus. The other is the letter written by Shivaji to Jaisingh, "[32] when the Rajput prince advanced against him under Aurangzeb's orders. "In this letter to Aurangzeb, Shivaji refers to the enlightened policy of Akbar, on account of which he was called 'The spiritual guide of the world." " God created the whole world "-wrote Shivaji, " and inhabitants thereof, both small and great, they (Akbar and Jahangir) did not place any consideration upon the religion or sect of any one and they did not persecute any one for his religious opinions.... It is written in Koran that 'the whole world belongs to God and that He created all mankind." He is not only the God of the Mussulmans. Before him Hindus and Mussulmans are all equal as mixed colours, and God is one. Where there is a mosque, there is the voice of the Manzzin calling the Mussulmans to prayers, and where there is an idol temple of the Hindus they are striking the bell. To persecute any one for his religion is to turn your face from the Koran....Expunge, therefore the founders of religious persecution from your heart and show favour to the poor people who are in your service...

Shivaji was a champion of Hindu religious freedom. He warned Aurangzeb against JIZIA, and he fought Aurangazeb because he could not accept the superiority of Islam or the status of inferiority which Aurangzeb wanted to impose upon Hindus. Toleration, Justice and Equality were the maxims of his policy in his own kingdom, and he deserted their adoption in the Mughal Empire. "[33] As regards Brahmins, it does not appear that Shivaji showed them any special favours. Indeed, there are two instances from which it would appear that the Brahmins were as liable to punishment, as any one else, for offences committed by them. Dr. Fryer visiting Karwar under Shivaji's control writes: They have now in Limbo several Brahmins whose Flesh they tear with pincers heated red-hot, dump them on the shoul-

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32 Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, pp. 107-108. quoted by Dr. A. G. Pawar (*Shivaji's was a secular* state. Paper submitted for the Maratha History Seminar. University of Bombay, Nov. 1971 )

33 John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India & Persia,* op. cit, Dr. A. G. Pawar, Ed. W. Crooke, Vol. 2, p. 4.
Quoted: Rajawade, 8.11.

ders to extreme Anguish (though according to their law, it is forbidden to strike a Brahman). The other instance brings out directly what Shivaji had to say of an offending Brahmin. The person concerned was Jiwaji Vinayak, a Brahmin officer, that had egregiously failed to carry out the orders given to him. In the letter written to him by Shivaji, the king said " Such a servant must be dealt with severely. Who would show him any regard simply because he is a Brahmin ? [34]

Shivaji's empire, extended from Broach to Quilon in extreme South (See map) and though he died young at the age of 53 years he was more successful than any other emperor who reigned in India. But soon after his death there was a complete disunity among the Marathas. "The cabinet was disunited: the two powerful ministers (The Peshwa and Sachiv) were openly at loggerheads with each other".[35] Sambhaji, the eldest son-wreaked a vengeance upon the ministers and officials suspected of hostility towards him His cruelty, violence, and debauchery made some of his leading Brahmanas conceive the design of destroying him.[36] Unhealthy political tendencies which had been kept in check by Shivaji, his Maharashtra Dharma, its secularism as such was to be vaporised by the Peshwas. The position enjoyed by the Brahmins was better under the Maratha administration. This is better illustrated by a quotation from Valentine Chirol :

> "It is however about two centuries ago that the Chitpavan Brahmins began to play a conspicuous part in Indian history;.... Balaji Vishvanath Rao, worked his way up at the court of the Maratha king Shahu to the position of Peshwa, or the ( Prime Minister ) he succeeded even in bequeathing to his son, the great Bajirao Balaji, who led the Maratha armies right up to the walls of Delhi; Bajirao's son not only succeeded as Balaji II, but on the death of king Shahu disposed off his Royal master's family by a bold palace conspiracy and openly assumed sovereign powers. The crushing defeat at Panipat brought him to grave, and thought the dynasty was still continued and regained some of its lustre under Madhav Rao I, the Peshwas subsequently became little more than ( *vois faineants* ) in the hands of their Ministers, and especially in those of the great Regent Nana Phadnavis. He too was a Chitpavan Brahman, and it is

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34 Ibid. A. G. Pawar, "Shivaji's was a secular State"
35 Sarkar Jadunath, *Shivaji and his Times*. pp.372–73.
36 Sarkar Jadunath, *The House of Shivaji*, 1940, Ed.p.197.

> under his reign that his fellow caste-men acquired so complete a monopoly of all the chief officers of state that the Maratha empire became essentially a Chitpavan Empire."[37]

Hence my interest in this brief history which helps one to look at the continuity of Brahmanism, and the Brahminization. Edward Shils was right in stating : "No country can quite match this picture of a continuing intellectual tradition carried so long by a single section of the population. "[38] From certain decisions noted by the Peshwas in their diaries one can form some idea about the disabilities of some of the castes in the Maratha country. " In Maratha a ' Mahar '-one of the untouchables might not spit on the road lest a pure caste Hindu should be polluted by touching it with his foot, but had to carry an earthen pot, hung from his neck, in which to spit. Further he had to drag a thorny branch with him to wipe out his foot-prints and to lie at a distance prostrate on the ground if a Brahmin passed by, so that his foul shadow might not defile the holy Brahmin."[39].

At the beginning of the 17th Century, the great preacher Ramdas tried to inculcate in the minds of the people the idea of unity based on the bond of common locality. During the latest period of Peshwa rule (later half of the eighteenth century ) however, this ideal dwindled into the orthodox one wherein Brahmins figure prominently, the state having no higher function than that of pampering them. Under the Hindu ruler the Brahmins must have secured for themselves many pecuniary privileges, denied to others, on the strength of this orthodox theory of the proper function of the state, and perhaps more because they happened to occupy posts of importance. Thus the Maratha region during the period under reference, the " Konkanasth Brahmin caste obtained the privilege of their goods being exempted from certain duties and their imported corn being carried to them without any ferry charges. Brahmin land-holders of the country had their lands assessed at distinctly lower rates than those levied from other castes. Brahmins were exempted from capital punishment, and were confined in forts, they were more liberally treated than the lower classes. "[40] It ultimately points as to how in history the Brahmins have passed through

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37 Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest*. MacMillan, 1910, Ch. IV, p.38.

38 Shils Edward A, *The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity*. p. 21.

39 Russel, i) pp. 72-73.
Quoted : *Caste and Race in India*, G. S. Gurye, p. 12.

40 Balaji Bajirao : Vad : Vol. (1). pp. 306, 309, 377, 455. Quoted by G. S. Gurye, *Caste and Race in India*, p. 15.

the ages, and coming as they did contact with the Maratha empire under Shivaji's time spread over a large area. It would not be wrong to state that Shivaji's empire from Broach to Quilon, also contributed to the vast expansion of Brahmanism in Southern India.

This brief history shows how the Maratha empire failed largely due to the Brahminical influences, and the social status which they enjoyed. With the death of Shivaji, the priestly profession was entirely monopolized by the Brahmins, leaving aside the ministrants of the aboriginal deities, while they were seen plying with any type of trade, or commerce which suited their taste and pleasure. Maratha empire in the second half of the eighteenth century reduced Chatrapathis to the position of titular heads, and the real power was in the hands of Peshwas (Brahmins). The Brahmins' influence increased to such an extent that they even tried to look upon Marathas as Sudras. In brief, the Brahmins looked down upon, the people of other castes, and treated themselves as Heaven–Born ones.

The very root of the 'Caste–System as we find through the ages' is Brahminism and the process which they practised is Brahminisation. As history reveals, since the Vedic period to the advent of the East India Company (British rule) we find in India 'Caste' and 'Caste System' had become more and more vigorous both in theory and practice. It starts from the *Vedas*, where we first find the mention and later in the *Samhitas*, *Upanishads* and *Vedants*. The different forces such as Buddhism, Jainism, Islamism, which tried to fight or reform Brahminism, themselves became castes. Under the Maratha dynasty which tried to defend Hinduism on the one hand, and on the other tried to evolve a secular outlook by itself, was thrown out by the traditional politics and could again gain ascendancy.

The other point which can be made in connection with the Brahman influence in Southern India is that under the British rule, there arose a non-Brahmin Movement especially in Southern India, from which springs the non–Brahmin movement of the twentieth century i. e. the Justice, the D. K. & D. M. K. Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict has its roots in the Vedas themselves; and right since the Vedic period the religious literature is the product of this problem. Perhaps religious literature is the outcome of the consciousness of the upper castes; and the non-Brahmin suffering is the result of the unconsciousness of the majority community other than the Brahmana. The Brahmin always prevailed consciously over the unconsciousness of the masses; because of which until the advent of British rule in India, the Brahmin as a community

had always prevailed over the other Varnas. Two specific reasons which can be attributed to the rise of non–Brahmin to his consciousness can be, (a) the sufferings under the so called religious philosophy; (b) the introduction of liberal ideas under the impact of Christian missionaries and English education. But before going into their details, it may be stated that the areas which were under the Maratha rule, were the areas in which Brahmin domination was felt most. It would not be wrong to say that 'Brahmins were the core of the Maratha administration. Shivaji's campaigns extended from Broach to Quilon ( See map ). This helped Brahmins to spread themselves along with his campaigns, and soon after Shivaji's death they captured political power, and once again they had an opportunity to establish their supremacy on the basis of the Varna theory. There are various theories regarding the migration of the Brahmin, which have made the Dravidians to develop an anti-Sanskrit, anti–Hindu, anti-Aryan, anti–North slogans, but the fact is that the spread of Brahmins, might have occurred mostly and largely because of Shivaji's campaigns in the extreme South, which were cut off from the Muslim (Moghul) rule, right from the beginning. It does not mean that his purpose was to help spread of Brahminism, but his purpose was to defend a nation from alien rule, which indirectly resulted in the spread of Brahmins. The Maratha empire, after its downfall, resulted in Brahmin monopoly, and the British rule covered those areas ruled by the Marathas, which were already under Brahmin influence when the East-India Company arrived. Further, in addition to this point, Eugene F. Irschick has pointed out in his Ph. D. dissertation *Politics and Social Conflict in South India* that, " Above and beyond all these points of difference between South India and North India was a peculiarity social one : the extraordinarily high position of the Brahmins in the social hierarchy in the Tamil and Malayalam areas. This was not a new phenomenon. For nearly one hundred and fifty years, from the early 1700's to the mid–nineteenth century, the Madras bureaucracy, especially in the districts, was dominated by Desastha Brahmans originally from Maharashtra in Western India.[41] " Before the British conquest, the Marathas had dominated all parts of presidency, except Sind and had rooted out Muslim influence whenever they could.[42] " Desastha Brahmins marooned after the Maratha invasions in Tamilnadu, where they still enjoyed something of their old reputation for administrative skill and intellectual superiority. They dominated

41 See Robert Frykenberg, *Guntur District*, 1788–1848. *A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India*, Oxford, 1965.
Quoted by Eugene Irschik in *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*, Oxford, 1969. P.5.

42 Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Competition and Collaboration in Later 19th Century, Cambridge. 1968, p. 68.

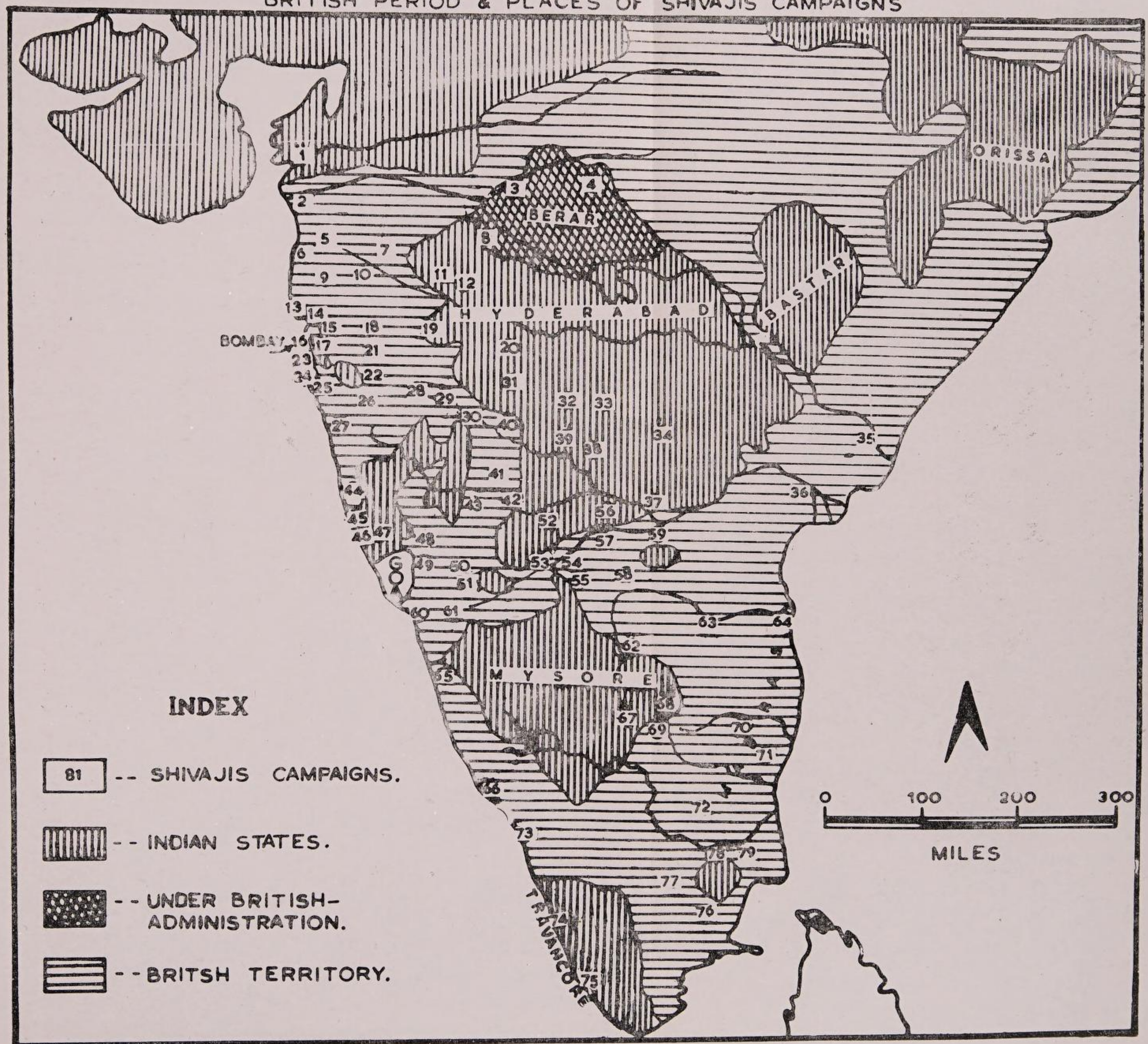
the lower grades of the administration when it passed to the British, and as late as 1855 they supplied most of the shirastedars, niab shirastedars and tahsildars throughout Madras. "[43]

This study leads to the conclusion that besides other theories of Brahmin migration, the Maratha dynasty, which had the chief and single purpose of fighting Islamic impact in order to defend Hinduism as such, relied on Brahmins. It is because of this that Brahminism spread throughout Southern India. The rise of Brahminism with the downfall of the Marathas created problems even under the British rule. As a result of the Brahmin domination in the South and the British rule, the structure of the society in Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra had similar problems. " After the final destruction of Maratha power in 1818, the rulers of the old confederacy became either clients or exiles, and the Marathi regions were thereafter organised into 'British districts' or 'Native states'[44] in the two Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. The map illustrates the areas of Shivaji's campaigns, which also shows the areas of the spread of Brahmins, and the area covered by British rule. The territories of Maratha rule, the British rule and the area of Brahmin influence coincided. Brahmins again had opportunities to influence British politics, because of which the non–Brahmin Movement originated.

43 *Ibid.* pp. 97–98.
44 Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism,* p.70.

# SOUTH INDIA

MAP SHOWING POLITICAL DIVISIONS DURING
BRITISH PERIOD & PLACES OF SHIVAJIS CAMPAIGNS



# 2 : BRAHMINISM UNDER THE BRITISH RULE AND THE ORIGIN OF NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

It is a well established fact that the failure of Maratha empire resulted in Brahmin dominance. " The Maratha empire long worn out with the disease of deep-rooted caste jealousies and dissensions, and overpowered by the superiority of British power, ultimately collapsed under the pressure of wile diplomacy and the conquering spirit of the empire builders of England. Bajirao-II, Chief of the Brahmin raj, was a worthless profligate. He was surrounded by weak female characters who were representatives of a decrepit society that bred spies, produced greed, pampered depraved wine-bibbers. That society also conducted gambling houses, fostered corruption and connived at debauchery. The scene of these vices was so obnoxious that Robertson, first British collector of Poona, was terribly shocked to see that the people had lost all notions of morality. Both Bajirao in the South and Daulatrao Shinde in the North became traitors to the nation and lost the independence of Marathas."[1] As a result the Brahmins came in direct touch with the British. British history starts from the South, especially from Madras, and then latter extended to Maharashtra and Bengal. With the advent of the British, the earliest participants in the new politics came from the higher castes, the Brahmins " who were not noted so much as founders of any empire, had here in Maharashtra their turn for a century to govern an empire founded by Shivaji, and expanded and consolidated by Bajirao I. "[2] Brahmins spread in all those areas, where Maratha empire had its rule ( see map ) and when the British came, they were also influenced much by the hold of the Brahmins on the society. When the British arrived, India was completely torn and exhausted. It was also the unity of

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1 Keer, D, *Mahatma Jotirao Phooley, Father of Our Social Revolution*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1964. p. 3.

2 *Ibid.* p. 6.

the British power and its supremacy in navy, that gave victory to the British over the Marathas. It was also the spread of Brahmins in the Deccan which the British made use of to establish their rule. Brahmins were mainly responsible for the British East-India Company to come to prominence and this further resulted in dividing the whole of Southern India into two main Presidencies-the Bombay and the Madras presidencies-which were formerly under one empire viz. the Maratha empire. Bombay and Madras presidencies under British rule were very much influenced by each other in respect of political history, as they had come under the same Brahminical influence. These two presidencies covered the areas which had many similarities historically. Of course, no presidency with geographic contiguity can remain isolated from its neighbouring presidency in any way, i. e., economic, social or political.

"...Madras presidency was one of the most extensive of the British territories in India. It stretched from the tip of the Indian peninsula, to Cape-Comerin, half way up the east coast to Bengal. A part of it lay on the Indian ocean, touching Bombay presidency to the North, and another segment extended west-ward from the Bay of Bengal, bordering on both Bombay presidency and the native state of Hyderabad."[3] The western sea board as Konkan and the Deccan table land sloping east-wards roughly constitute Maharashtra. History of the region could be traced to the millenium before the Christian era. Since the Satavahanas, a large number of dynasties of the Hindus and Muslims, have come and gone, enriching the history of Maharashtra and their exploits and administration. "Throughout this period, the history of Maharashtra was always a part of the history of India. With the rise of Shivaji, Maharashtra gained an importance in the broader context of Indian history. The history of the eighteenth century is, to a great extent, the history of India."[4] With regards to the areas of Karnatak under the former Madras presidency and the Hyderabad state, there are no regular histories written. The region (Karnatak) was included in the kingdom of Haidar and Tipu Sultan in the second half of the 18th Century. Earlier, these Kannada speaking areas were divided between Wodeyars of Mysore and the Marathas and other minor dynasties like those of Keladi. "After Tipu's defeat in 1799, his dominions were distributed between the old Mysore state, under the Wodeyars and the British provinces of Bombay,

3. Eugene, F. Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*, Oxford, 1970, p. 1.
4. S. P. Sen (Ed.). *Studies in Modern Indian History,* (A Regional Survey)
V. D. Rao, *Studies in the History of Maharashtra*, Institute of Historical Studies, 1969, P. 72.

Madras and the native state of Hyderabad and other smaller native states and the centrally administered area of the Coorg."[5] Besides these integrated territories, "...the Deccan region or the Dakshina-patha comprising broadly the states of Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnataka has considerably influenced the course of the Indian history and culture,"[6] from whose influences Madras could not remain isolated. "The Kanarese speaking districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and North Kanara were dominant as well, although it was quiet more of submersion than of contentment. These districts, laying south of the Konkan and Deccan, were sections of the Karnataka which time and chance had bundled into Bombay presidency."[7] These factors which got consolidated historically and territorially with the advent of the British, further influenced the course of British history in India, and under the British rule the dominance of Brahmins became more acute because of the past history. The migration of the Aryans and their Sanskrit culture towards the South does not seem to have absorbed within its fold dominant castes of the region. "Such castes in South performed Kshatriya and Vaishya functions and occupied equivalent social (but not ritual) status to those of their northern counterparts but remained Sudras."[8] "As a result Brahmans in the South have tended to be more separated from the rest of the population than Brahmans in the North. In the South they blend into large twice-born population of other significant and powerful castes. The range of social distance between top and the bottom of the caste structure is greater in the South than it is in the North, where pollution is conveyed by touch, not proximity, as in the South."[9] Both in Maharashtra and in Madras, "the relative absence of non-Brahmans twice-born castes helped to make Brahmans the target of movements directed against their social and political dominance. Many Marathas like Vellalas and Mudaliars in Madras, first entered politics in response to anti-Brahmin slogan."[10] "The social structure was so much firmly based of which the Brahmins had a monopoly throughout Southern India which neither the triumph of Buddhism which lasted for nearly 500 years, nor the successive wave of Mohamedan conquest availed to destroy the power of Brahmanism, nor has it been broken

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5. *Ibid.*, (Ed.) S. P. Sen. Dr. G. S. Dixit, "*Studies in the History of Mysore*" p. 144.
6. *Ibid.*, (Ed.) S. P. Sen. Dr. Miss. Sarojine Regane, "*Studies in the History of Andhra Pradesh*, P. 103.
7. Seal, Anil *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Competition and Collaboration in latter 19th, century Cambridge, 1968, p. 70.
8. *A Study in Cultural Change*, Bombay, 1965, p. 169.
9. Rudolph & Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition, Political Development in India*, Longmans, Chicago, 1969, pp. 76–77.
10. "Caste and Politics in Maharashtra" "*Economic Weekly*", VIII. July, 1956.

by British supremacy."[11] "In Southern India, Brahminism has remained more fiercely militant than in any other part of India, chiefly perhaps nowhere has it wielded such absolute power within times which may still be called recent."[12]

The immediate consequence of British rule was that it helped in increasing the cleavage in the caste structure of the society. It created a big gulf between Brahmins and the rest of the society. Brahmins were the first to take to Western education, and to enter the various professions through which they patronaged their own caste people. The British rule never destroyed the power of the Brahmins, but on the other hand, the Brahmins were quick to adopt themselves to Western education and system. "The British – as East–India Company was reluctant to introduce English education, it also tried not to influence Indian customs or religious belief since it felt that to do so might upset Indians,"[13] and hence for a long time the East India Company thought of only looking after the British interest, by which they limited themselves to a few contacts, especially with the Brahmins. In this process of British politics, it gave Brahmins an opportunity again, and "it was only since 1833, the missionaries started schools and colleges which taught and used English as the medium of instruction at school and college level."[14] Hence both, before English education was introduced and after, it was these higher castes who took the advantage of this British attitude. The Brahmins regarded themselves as the governing class, enjoying all advantages, and harassed the poor and toiling masses. They were all in all– landlords, agriculturists, white collars and, above all, professional caste lords. They seized everything from the peasants, in one or the other way, their reign, was a reign of terror and despotism and they never tolerated any reform in the existing caste system. Those few Brahmins who agitated for reforms, as they felt that society was changing fast under the impact of Western education, came to play the role of reformers. Brahminical influence right since its past has always played two roles : of simultaneously defending its religion and maintaining its superiority and position in tact. Rajaram Mohan Roy who has been called the father of modern India, worked for reforming Hinduism, but he refused to abandon Hinduism, and while re-defining Hinduism, he tended to use Christianity as a norm. Rajaram Mohan Roy was himself a Brahmin of a high order. "The leaders of the higher classes

11. Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest,* Macmillan, p. 34.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
13. Lamb, B. Pitney, *The Nehru's of India,* Macmillan, 1967, p. 31.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

like Ram Mohan Roy and the Government policy makers stood clearly for educating the upper classes believing that education would filter downwards."[15]

The British policy on the subject is clear from what the Honourable Court wrote to Madras Government in 1830:

> " The improvements in education, however, which might effectively contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which concern the education, of the higher classes of the person, possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction amongst these classes you could eventually produce a much greater, a more beneficial change in the ideas and the feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting on the more numerous class. You are, moreover, acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of natives qualified by their habits and occupy higher situations, in the civil administration of the country."[16]

The British were in search of loyal servants, who could also learn English and help them to stabilise themselves in this country. Hence, it was the British policy to rely on the upper caste because of the hold they had on society, and they believed that the ' Filtration ' theory would help the other people who were at the bottom of the society. They felt that the Brahmins would prove beneficial to them in every respect, and it is also clearly stated in the introduction of the report in 1818 on the Brahmin domination in Maratha kingdom following the British conquest that " the Brahmins were employed by the British in the subordinate positions, because they had lost their commanding influence and a certain discontent and longing for a return to power naturally remained."[17]

And to the British it was in their own political interest, to provide employment opportunity to the Brahmins. Hence, Brahmins made all their efforts to gain their lost ascendancy, and under the impact of the West they could achieve their objective.

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15. Keer D., *Mahatma Jotirao Phooley, Father of our Social Revolution,* Popular, Bombay, 1964, p. 52.
16. *Report of the Board of Education for the year* 1850–51. para 8.
17. Eugene, F. Irschick, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

What the British required was loyalty, " and it was also the great administrative abilities which compelled recognition, and Chitpavans swarm in every Government office of the Deccan as they did in the days of Nana Phadnavis. They occupied, the bench dominated Bar, taught as teachers in schools, controlled Vernacular Press, and also furnished almost all the conspicuous names in modern literature and drama of Western India as well as in politics."[18] This was the result of the British policy of education known as the filtration theory.

> " British education in India became closely associated and connected with religion, by which the higher education of the Hindus was in the hands of the Brahmins and mainly intended for them, Lord Erksikne's policy of the Filtration Theory encouraged and advised the Boards to leave the education of the masses to the indirect influence of the downward filtration. He believed that even morality would spread from the higher classes to the lower one. " [19]

The effect of such a policy was the same in both the presidencies (Bombay and Madras). An analysis of the membership of the various local bodies in the presidencies of Bombay and Madras clearly proves that the non-Brahmins became conscious of their rights and are generally keen to conduct a strong campaign against any measure which they feel unjust to them. "A number of motions tabled, and questions asked in Bombay Legislative Council tell the same story."[20] Brahmin domination was the bane of public life in both these presidencies. English education meant jobs, and this was limited to a section of the society. " Prior to 1856, the Poona Sanskrit College taught only Brahmin students and refused even to teach the sacred law to any one except the Brahmins."[21] Hence in the whole of South India, Brahminism was making untiring efforts to continue their ascendancy. Besides these two presidencies, Mysore and Andhra were also not immune from the Brahminical influences. Towards the end of the last century the Tamil Brahmins had thus come to quite uncommon extent to dominate public life, the bar and the bench, education especially the university, and the higher clerical grades of government employment.

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18. Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, Macmillan, 1910, p. 21.
19. Vaidya, N. N. *History of Primary Education* ( From 1815 to 1940 ), p. 15.
20. Refer Memorandum submitted by the Government of Bombay, to the Statutory Commission, 1928, pp. 527-29.
21. *A Review of Education in Bombay State*, Government of Bombay, p. 492.

" In 1852 Madras had 1,185 mission schools with 38,055 students while Bombay and Bengal together had 472 mission schools with an enrolment of 26,791."[22] Of the 62 Arts colleges in India in 1882, Madras had 25, Bombay 6, Bengal 22, North/West Frontier and Oudh ( modern U. P. ) nine and Punjab two. Brahmins formed the majority of the educated in Madras presidency. In 1890–91, of the 3,200 students in arts colleges, 38 were Europeans and Anglo-Indians, 244 Indian Christians, 46 Muslims, 658 Non-Brahmins and 2,208 Brahmins. Brahmins formed 81 of the aggregate. In the whole of India 895 out of every 1,000 males were illiterate in 1891 census. In Madras Presidency the corresponding figure was only 276, of every 1,000 Brahmins in Madras. 722 were literate whereas in Bombay 645, and 638 in Mysore.

" The Indian Public Service Commission reported in 1877 that out of 1,866 Hindu members of the judicial services, as many as 904 were Brahmins and 454 Kayasthas (Prabhus in Bombay). The number of Kshatriyas or Rajputs was 147, of Vaishyas 113, of Shudras 146, and of the other 102. The Brahmins were especially dominant in Madras, with 202 out of a total of 297, and in Bombay with 211 out of 328."[23]

British rule in India helped Brahminism to become more dominant in economic, political and social life of India again. Suffering from hunger and suppression, the lower classes of society in the South were economically handicapped. It was virtually slavery that existed and this was continued since thousands of years. In the name of religion the upper caste had divided the society to such an extent that it resulted in slavery. The divisions and separations which took place because of Brahminisation had affected social conditions to such an extent that if one caste or Jati was being tortured, or being subjected to severe discriminations, the other castes did not unite over the issue, but instead, enjoyed seeing the suppressions and tortures. Under such conditions, the upper castes have always made themselves the masters of all situations. A remarkable picture of South India when the British first appeared on the scene, was drawn by a Madras Brahmin, late Mr. Srinivasaraghava Iyangar, which illustrates the position of Brahminism :

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22. Bhatia, B. M. *The Statesman*, " South's Opposition to Hindi, more Political than Economic," Feb. 12, 1968.
23. Mitra, B. B. *The Indian Middle Class*, Bombay, 1961, p. 322.

"Southern India had been devastated by wars, famines, were ground down by oppressive taxation, and bonds of plunderers, the cultivating classes were ground down by oppressive taxation by the illegal exactions of the officers of Governments, of the renters employed to collect the Government dues, and the *Sowkars* without whose assistance the ryots could not subsist and carry on their perpetual bondage, trade was hampered by insecurity of property, defective communications, and onerous transit duties, the vast majority of the population suffered extreme hardships when there was even a partial failure of crops in small tracts, owing to the great difficulty and cost of obtaining supplies of grain from more favoured regions, the peasantry and even possessors of landed property, when not holding office under Government themselves, were lowering before the pettiest Government officer and submitting to tortures and degrading personal ill-treatment inflicted on the slightest pretext, persons who had chanced to acquire wealth, if they belonged to the lower classes, dared not openly use it for purposes of enjoyment or display of fear of being plundered by the classes above them; the agricultural classes as a whole had few wants beyond those imposed by the necessity for bare subsistence, no ambition or enterprise to try untrodden ways, and no example to stimulate them to endeavour to better their condition, while the rigid usages of castes and communities in which society was organised suppressed all freedom of action and restricted the scope for individual initiative. To understand the full significance of the change which has come over the country one has to contrast what he sees at present, unsatisfactory as it may appear from some points of view, with the state of things described above. . . Remembering that method of progress calculated to evoke national feeling and religious enthusiasm are unavailable under the conditions of the case, the progress that has been made ... is little short of marvellous."[24]

British rule in India was both controlled and suppressed by the Brahmin domination, because Brahmins did not allow the 'Rule of Law' to prevail over their 'Rule of Religion'. 'Rule of Religion' has always prevailed over the 'Rule of Law'. 'Caste' is not static, it has changed; but in the tradi-

24 Valentine Chirol, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

tional sense it is still an important feature of social and political life of the country. Due to 'Industrialization', caste has no doubt lost its original meaning, and today it is based on various factors like income, occupation, education, western style of life, but still 'Caste' functions in one or the other way. On this traditionally based society the British education system which was notoriously unegalitarian further helped the Brahminical tyranny to continue and M. N. Srinivas has very aptly pointed in his book '*Social Change in Modern India*', that,

> " the Brahmin writers on law propounded a model caste system which placed them on the top and gave them the privilege of declaring the duties of the other castes. It is my hunch that the 'Varna' model became more popular during the British period as a result of a variety of forces, the institution which prevailed till 1864, of attaching Brahmin Pandits to the British-established law courts, the presence in every town of a body of Western educated lawyers who tried to apply Brahminical law to all Hindus. The translation of a vast mass of sacred literature from Sanskrit into English, the rise everywhere of "Caste Sabhas" which tried to introduce reforms by Sanskritizing the way of life of their respective castes, and the growth of a vigorous anti-Brahmin Movement which attempted to displace Brahmins from the positions of power and influence which they occupied in some parts of the country."[25]

These parts were especially the Bombay Presidency and Madras Presidency, which as already stated, have been much influenced historically, which lead to the Brahmin domination under British rule. Further, it may be added that Brahminism was more severe under British days than what it was in the Pre-British days. What Brahmins practised before 1864, was different from what they practised under British rule. They had perfectly Brahminized British India, and especially Madras and Bombay Presidencies suffered a great deal. There was dominance in the economic, political and social fields, and perhaps Brahminism itself was an important factor which influenced the growth of the Non-Brahmin Movement.

> "There were men in India then who liked to see India once again dominated by the Brahmins, by pure Brahminism, they

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25. Srinivas, M. N. *Social Change in Modern India and Other Essays*, Asia, Bombay, 1970. pp. 5-6.

tried to re-establish caste with all its rigidity, they tried to exclude all modern industrialism. Fifteen hundred years ago the Brahmin drove the Buddhists and Buddhism."[26]

Buddhism, Jainism and even Islamism and the Maratha empire were eclipsed by Brahminism. Under the British rule also they tried in all manners to throw out British if possible and seize political power.

The Brahmins had always shown a clear apathy for mass education. But the British had planted many missionaries who were interested in the spread of Christianity and these missionaries preached a sense of brotherhood, gave the message of service, humanity, equality, brotherhood of man enshrined in the Holy Bible which had a profound impression on the minds of the masses. Perhaps this is another factor which influenced the rise of the non-Brahmins. Ignorance and poverty were the two fatal diseases harassing the masses. Education being the monopoly of the Brahmins, they occupied most of the salaried posts. Ignorance and poverty squeezed the life and blood out of the common man. Masses lived in total ignorance, and ignorance itself was the root cause of all the evils and sufferings of the non-Brahmins, on which the Brahmins existed. For the non-Brahmins, Home, Sweet Home was the earliest school, mother was the natural teacher, who herself was again ignorant, superstitious and illiterate. Western education, though it was monopolised by the Brahmins with their control over it, could not control the liberal ideas which were the outcome of British education and the preachings of the Christian missionaries. They reached the masses and the teachings of the missionaries and their liberal outlook became eye-opening facts to the masses who had been subjected to all sorts of bondages. No wonder the non-Brahmin Movement was the natural outcome of the struggle between British inperialism and the emergent professional classes began to demand for share in administration.

**Origin of the Non-Brahmin Movement**

Brahminism was the bane of public life in Southern India. The gulf which was created by this domination of the Brahmins over the non-Brahmins was similar both in Bombay and Madras presidencies. The Madras presidency was more influenced by the developments of social thought in Maharashtra, "because Madras had a direct line to Bombay, but only a loop through central India gave it access to Calcutta."[27] Hence Madras presidency

26. Horace Alexander, *Consider India, An Essay in Values*, Asia, Bombay, 1961, pp. 1-2.
27. Seal Anil, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Competition and Collaboration in latter 19th Century, Cambridge, 1968*, p. 102.

was under the influence of the Bombay presidency in many respects. "The problem of Brahmin domination at times was more acute in Madras presidency, because Pariahs, or untouchables, were more numerous than in other parts of the country and their disabilities were more crippling."[28] "British in order to pacify Brahmins, to stabilise the British rule in India followed a policy of appeasement towards the Brahmins."[29] The British knew that the "Brahmins had a great hold on society. In matters of social structure of the society the Brahmin superiority was unchallenged for centuries. As the Brahmins alone could understand Sanskrit they possessed the key to all sacred knowledge."[30] The British encouraged the Brahmins in their own interest and introduced western education, but this education influenced social condition *vis–a–vis* traditional position of the Brahmins. Liberal ideas of this system of education made the lower classes of the society to realise how they were suppressed in the name of Dharma.

The advent of the British rule helped Brahminism to continue their traditions, and at the same time the spread of English education affected the traditional politics of caste system (Brahminical). The special caste grievances of the Brahmins against western education are very frankly set–forth in a speech on " Duties of Brahmins ", delivered in Bombay by Rao Sahib Joshi, a distinguished and very enlightened member of Yajurvedi Palshikar sect of Brahmins. Mr. Joshi, who laid great stress upon the duty of loyalty to the British Raj, began by recalling the patent conferred upon them by a British Governor of Bombay at the beginning of the eighteenth century for the protection of their privileges, especially in connection with the teaching of medicine. But their community had gradually lost ground for various reasons, and amongst those which he enumerated, he laid the chief stress upon the diffusion of secular education. He fully recognized the benefits of English education, but " all education being of secular character, it made the new generation a class of Sceptics. People brought up with English ideas, and in the atmosphere of secular education, now began to pay less respect to their Gurus and hereditary priests, the Guru is Brahma, the Guru is Vishnu, the Guru is Shiva, verily the Guru is sublime Brahmam! This idea, this respect the secular education shattered to pieces, and so the income and importance of the hereditary priests dwindled down. "[31]

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28. *Ibid.*, P. 99.
29. *Report of the Board of Education* (1840-41), P. 24.
30. *Report of the Board of Education* (1847–48), P. 3.
31. *The Brahmans and Western Education*, Quoted by Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest.* (Note No. 20), Macmillan, 1910, p. 353.

With the spread of secular education, the Brahmins had been exposed to the society, and the traditional bars which they had set, were being understood by the lower class of the society. This gave rise to the non-Brahman outlook. The supremacy of the Brahmins was challenged by the non-Brahmin Movement. "The non-Brahmins of Madras, followed by those of Bombay and the central provinces, have in recent years organized themselves on the basis of non-Brahmins which often degenerated into anti-Brahmanism."[32] The beginnings of political consciousness on 'Caste-lines' came to be first formed in Maharashtra. They are caste-alliances and not caste sabhas. 'Caste-Sabhas' i. e. combined association of a number of sub-castes of one caste began to be formed in Maharashtra at least in the eighties of the last century and became common by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. 'The Decan Sabha', a politico-economic association started by Justice M. G. Ranade and the Satya Shodhak Samaj founded by Jotiba Phule were the inspirers of these Sabhas. The object of these Sabhas was to "reunite the sub-castes of a caste and carry on propaganda for the acquisition of higher social status than was generally accorded to the caste."[33]

The term 'non-Brahmana' to be clear, assumed importance in the Jotiba Phule era; and this included various castes other than the Brahmins. Jotiba Phule's writings were much influenced by various other religions i. e. Christianity, Islam, etc. This indicates that the Satya Shodhak Samaj was the result of an alliance of all other castes and *Jatis* except the Brahmins. Further in the later period the term non-Brahmin was also known in vernacular as Bahujan Samaj, which again includes the meaning, the majority communities. Under the British rule when this alliance of various communities started protesting, it was also known as *Brahmanetar-chalval* which means a movement of all except Brahmins. One aspect needs to be made clear. It need not be understood or taken as a movement against the Brahmins; because the movement is the outcome of a protest agaist the British to change their policy towards the non-Brahmin masses in the economic, social and political life of the country.

The origins of the non-Brahmin movement, and the rise of caste-sabhas to reform the society had their birth in Maharashtra, and this was later on followed in Madras presidency. Non-Brahmin movement is usually

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32. Chintamani, C. Y. *Indian Politics Since Mutiny*. Andhra University, Waltair, 1937, p. 116.
33. Ghurye, G. S. *Caste and Race in India*, Popular, Bombay, 1969, p. 342.

taken for granted by many scholars with a sense which is strictly limited to Tamil Nadu politics of D. K. and D. M. K. today. The non-Brahmin movement of Madras, today known as D. K. or D. M. K., is a recent development, but its roots can be traced back to the 1840's. Because of the past history, territorial influence, and the social structure of Brahminical influence, non–Brahmin's looked upon the British as their masters. Maharashtra has become an important centre for the Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict, whereas the D. M. K. party has its roots in the Justice Party established in 1916. Dr. T. M. Nair is usually described as the principal leader of the movement in its earlier phase. "Dr. T. M. Nair practised in Madras city, and was one of the most respected figures in public life in the presidency. He attended Congress sessions from 1890's, and took active part in the party. In 1916 he expected to be elected by the Madras Legislative Council to the Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi, but two Brahmins, B. N. Sarma and V. S. Srinivas Sastri, were elected. This incident supplied the impetus to the formation of a non–Brahmin political party. In the previous year, 1915, Dr. T. M. Nair, Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar and the Raja of Panagal had formed a Dravidian Association, which professed the object of forming a Dravidian State–an idea, of which however, little was to be heard for another thirty years. In 1916, these leaders with Sir P. T. Chettiar established the South Indian Peoples Association, which in the same year published the non–Brahmin Manifesto, and early in the following year launched three daily papers, the English ' Justice ', the Tamil ' Dravidian ', and the Telugu, ' Andhra Prakasika'. Finally in August, 1917, they set up the South Indian Liberal Federation, which came unoffcially to be called the Justice Party."[34] This movement has been much influenced by the non–Brahmin movement of Maharashtra, known as the Satya Shodhak Samaj Movement. " A partial exception is Jotiba Phule, a Maharashtrian of the gardner caste, who wrote angry attacks on Hinduism half a century before Mr. Naicker. He had little influence in his time, but he is the original source of the Non–Brahmin Movement in Maharashtra. It is possible, but unlikely that Mr. Naicker owes something to Phule."[35] Philip Spratt has mentioned the importance of Jotiba Phule and referred to him as the original source of the non–Brahmin movement of Maharashtra in his book ' D. M. K. in Power. ' He further refers to the possibility of his influence on Mr. Naicker, but it is to be pointed out that one need not

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34. Philip Spratt, *D. M. K. in Power*, Nachiketa Publications, Bombay, 1970, pp.19–20.
35. *Ibid.*, Refer footnotes, P. 31.

have any doubt on this, because, " Jotirao Phooley was the first Indian leader to start a movement for the removal of the social and economic ills of the lower classes who were starved, stunned, and suffering untold privations. He gave vent to their age-long rage and grief. His movement aimed at establishing social equality and securing social justice. He struggled for the dignity of human personality and human rights, as he considered all Indians equal."[36] His movement has influenced all those areas wherever Brahmin domination was felt. "Phooley's revolt was a revolt against caste in so far as caste denied ordinary human rights to all the members of Hindu Society, and not merely a non-Brahmin Movement to cast off the domination of the Brahmins. In his writings he demanded representation for all classes of the Hindus in all the local bodies, the services and the institutions.[37] This movement of Jotiba Phule did not receive much support from the Brahmins in general, but did not go without its influence, because this movement does not end with Jotiba Phule (1890). It was further carried out by His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja of Kolhapur. " It was the late Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur who infused new life into the agitation, so much so that Montague and Chelmsford, in their Indian political reforms had to grant the demand."[38] What was lacking in Jotiba Phule's movement was financial support in its earlier stages, but even this was solved because he had unique type of followers, who removed this difficulty too. " Men of wealth and influence actually gathered under Jotiba's banner. P. Rajanna Lingu was one such influential person. He hailed from Telugu Mali community. In Bombay they were called Kamathis. The entire Kamathi community backed Jotiba Phooley. Another important leader was Ramayya Vankayya Aiyyavaru. A rich man and devoted worker; he followed Jotiba through the thick and thin. These Telugu Mali leaders financed Jotiba's every project and supported his movement."[39] "Towards the end of the nineteenth century Tamil and Telugu non-Brahmins, alike began to trespass upon the preserve of the Brahmins, setting the pattern for the latter's politics of Madras."[40] Jotiba Phule was not less popular among the non-Maharashtrians, because

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36. Keer D, *Mahatma Jotirao Phooley, Father of Our Social Revolution,* Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1964, p. 271.
37. Ghurye, G. S. *Caste and Race in India*, Popular Prakashan, 1969, pp. 286-87.
38. John Wilson, *Indian Caste,* foot-notes, p. 89, *op. cit.*, Quoted by Ghurye, G. S. *Caste and Race in India.*
39. Keer D, *Mahatma Jotirao Phooley : Father of Our Social Revolution,* Bombay, 1964, p. 133.
40. *Seal* Anil *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Competition and Collaboration in later 19th Century*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 99.

"one feature of the peninsular non–Brahmin movement was a dislike of, if not hatred for the Brahmin".[41]

Further, a reference may be made to the leaders of the non–Brahmin movement of Madras like Sir P. T. Chettiar, a Telugu Beri Chetty, and others like Dr. T. M. Nair, who hailed from Kerala and Andhra and who were in touch of Maharashtra. They chose Madras as the centre of the non-Brahmin movement since 1910. Hence there is every possibility that Mr. Naicker had been certainly influenced by Jotiba Phule's Satya Shodhak Samaj Movement the same way His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja was influenced. These two Presidencies (Madras and Bombay) have much in common in their political and social thought and its development. Both the presidencies had mutual influences, historically, socially and politically. Philip Spratt is right when he points out that Jotiba Phule was the original source, but it would also be correct to state that he had a great influence upon the growth of the non-Brahmin movement in Madras, because, even the British had to acknowledge his services to the lower classes. The movement led by Jotiba Phule had its influence all over the South, and this was further strengthened by His Highness Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur. It was also the influence of Shri Shahu Maharaja which led to the establishment of the Justice Party in Madras Presidency in 1916.

The non–Brahmin movement in peninsular India is a century old movement, and this movement cannot be assessed scientifically without an assessment of the role played by Jotiba Phule and His Highness Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur. The study of non–Brahmin movement without a reference to them would not help in understanding the movement fully. Perhaps a comparative study of the roles played by them would also provide a better perspective. Hence it is necessary to assess Jotiba Phule's contribution to the non–Brahmin movement and that of His Highness Shahu Maharaja to analyse the rise of the Justice Party and the non-Brahminism in Tamil Nadu. Besides, Shri Shahu actively propagating for Communal Representation coincides with the rise of the Justice Party, but Jotiba Phule had already sown the seeds of the non–Brahmin movement, which has become part of the party programmes of today's non–Brahmin political parties especially in Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. Under the British rule Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur, actively propagating the cause of the non–Brahmins, contributed much to the constitution–making. From 1900 onwards, it was a period of

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41. Srinivas M. N., *Social Change in Modern India and Other Essays,* Asia, 1970, p. 22.

serious efforts for constitution making. The British authorities had promised a further step towards responsible government. Under these circumstances Shri Shahu consolidated various non–Brahmin organisations. He supported the cause of the poor people who were trying to throw off the yoke of Brahmin bureaucracy. Shri Shahu's concern over the non-Brahmin cause was mainly because, in Maharashtra in his own words, " owing to the Peshva regime their influence had greatly increased and after the fall of the Peshwa, Kolhapur has been their centre. Owing to the large minorities and the Government of Brahmin Bureaucracy, this place was considered a suitable centre. The late Messrs Ranade, Gokhale, Kelkar and others who played an important political part, belonged to this place and made my work most difficult."[42] Shri Shahu came in direct conflict with the Brahmin bureaucracy and Poona (another centre of the Peshwa's) directed its tactics against Kolhapur. Jotiba Phule had contributed much to the rise of non–Brahmins and he had faced many problems created by the Brahmin influence; and when Shri Shahu took up the cause a battle was pitched against Shri Shahu. Shri Shahu made the movement so popular that, to weaken the non–Brahmin cause the 'Home Rule Movement' was launched in both the Presidencies by Mrs Annie Besant in Madras and B. G. Tilak in Bombay.

Before going into the details of Shri Shahu's concern with the non–Brahmin Movement, it is necessary to assess Jotiba Phule's contribution to the non–Brahmin cause, and then assess Shri Shahu's contribution to the non–Brahmin movement which would make the study both chronological, accurate and scientific. It was a favourable political climate for the non–Brahmin castes to express their views, not only in Madras but everywhere in India. The movement, when it was started, was known as the 'non–Brahmin Movement', but before the movement could arouse considerable interest and became popular, it was to a very great extent the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' movement of Jotiba Phule that was working for protecting the interest of the non–Brahmins.

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42. K. R. O. Shri Shahu to George Lloyd, 23rd June 1919, L, Nos. R. 9918 and 19. *Note :* K. R. O. (Kolhapur Record office).

Mahatma Jotiba Phule

# 3 : MAHATMA JOTIBA PHULE THE FATHER OF THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

Jotirao Govindrao Phule (Jotiba Phule) (1827-1890) is the father of the non-Brahmin Movement. In Maharashtra his name is a household word even today. To understand and appreciate his philosophy, an attempt is made in this chapter to evaluate his contribution to the non Brahmin cause. The study is based largely on his following works :

1. *Brāhmanāṁce Kasāba'*, Bombay, 1869
2. *'Sivājicā Povādā'*, Bombay, 1869
3. *'Gulāmagiri'*, Poona, 1873
4. *'Śetakaryānca Asūdā'*, Bombay, 1883, Part 1-4
5. *'Sātsāra'*, Poona, 1885 Nos. 1-2
6. *Isārā*, Poona, 1885
7. *'Sārvajanika Satyadharma Pustaka'*, Poona, 1891

These books are in Marathi and the references quoted and reproduced here are translated versions. Besides this, Dhananjay Keer's *" Father of Our Social Revolution "* is also a very important contribution to an understanding of Jotiba Phule's thoughts and life.

Incidentally, there has been a considerable contribution to the study of Jotiba Phule in Maharashtra. There is a lot of literature in Marathi on Jotiba Phule. In this direction Miss Gail Omvedt deserves to be mentioned and her thesis, Cultural Revolt in a colonial society : non-Brahmin Movement in Western India, 1873-1930, has been published. Some articles have also been published in the 'Economic and Political weekly'.

Jotiba Phule was born in 1827, only to lose his mother, on his birth. Right since his childhood he marked himself with certain talents which were notable. As he belonged to Kshatriya *( Mali )* caste, his father could not think of giving education to him, because in those days education was not meant for children of backward classes. But his father was persuaded by his neighbours to send Jotiba to a missionary school. There is very little information available regarding his early school career, but he was fully equipped to play a historical role right since his childhood. Jotiba's mind was attuned to all modern influences, it is no wonder that he was greatly distracted by the position that the down trodden poor masses occupied in Indian society. The apaty and indifference shown by the Brahmins to non-Brahmins caused Jotiba Phule distress and he demanded on their behalf a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity. The high esteem and respect in which Jotiba Phule held the poor is evident in all his writings. Jotiba Phule wanted some definite action to counteract the growing unrest, resulting from economic and social suffering of the masses and the alienation of the intellectuals.

In his book '*Gulamagiri*', "he refers to the Negro problem and the book has been dedicated to the American people in honour of their achievement of the abolition of slavery."[1] This shows that Jotiba Phule had followed and learnt about the Negro problem in the U.S.A., and he compared the prevailing '*Gulamagiri*' (slavery) in the Indian society under the Brahminical influence to the Negro problem. Though Jotiba Phule was not highly educated, his thoughts were influenced by his wide reading.

Further throwing light on the position of shudras in his famous book '*Gulamgiri*' he narrates as follows

> "... In the most insignificant village, as the largest town, the Brahmin is all in all; the be all and end all of the ryot. He is the master, the ruler. The *Patil* of a village, the real head, in fact a nonentity. The *Kulkarni*, the hereditary Brahmin village accountant...moulds the Patil according to his wishes. He is the temporal and spiritual advisor of the ryots, the sowkar in his necessities, and the general referee in all matters...
>
> If we go up higher, to the court of a mamlatdar, we find the same thing. The first anxiety of a mamlatdar is to get

1 Phule, Jotirao, *Gulamagiri,* Poona, 1873, P. 267.

around him, if not his own relations, his caste men to fill the various vacancies under him...

If a shudra repairs to his court, the treatment which he receives is a kin to what the meanest reptile receives...

Jotiba Phule's *Gulamgiri* (1873) not only focussed on the exploitation by the Brahmins but it created a series of historical myths which inspired virulent non-brahmin movements in other parts."[2]

The fact that he did not possess higher education did not come in his way of acquiring knowledge through his self study and reading and he was very much interested in understanding the true meaning of liberty, equality and faternity. He had to go into the details to understand the real meaning of the caste system, and thereby he could understand Brahminism in the real sense. "He also mentions about Thomas Paine in his book".[3] Poona was described as the hot-bed of Brahminism. Private institutions were established in Poona which were mainly devoted to the study of Vedas, Shastras and Science. When at school, Jotiba Phule was very much shocked by the treatment meted out by the Brahmins to the so-called backward classes, and on the other hand he was much attracted by the sympathetic approach of the missionaries. "The missionaries started schools and colleges, and used English as medium of instruction at school and college level. The teaching was so good that even Hindus who were opposed to missionary activity and had no intention of becoming Christians sent their children."[4] While the Brahmins kept the backward classes at a distance, the missionaries welcomed them.

The position of the shudras under British was worst when compared to their position under the Peshwa rule. Missionaries played a great role in the development of the social and political thought, especially in Maharashtra and Madras. The advent of the missionaries, following the establishment of the British rule in India, was no doubt for the spread of Christianity. It was since then the lower classes, for the first time, came to be treated with sympathy by the missionaries. Jotiba Phule himself was a great admirer of the missionaries. But the impact of the west was uneven. "The vast majority living

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2 From translation of *Gulamgiri* available with the Bombay State Committee for the History of Freedom Movement in India – Refered as *BSCHEM*.

3 Phule Jotirao, *Gulamgiri*, Poona. 1873, p. 110.

4 Lamb, B. Pitney; *The Nehru's of India*. Macmillan Co., New York, 1967, p. 31.

in the country side or in the princely states were untouched by it. The western influence was confined largely to the few cities which the British used as the centers of their rule, and it was especially felt by the small minority who had higher education."[5] The position can be understood by the following chart of caste breakdown of students.

Caste Breakdown of Students in the colleges of Bombay and Poona in 1884.

| Institution | Brahmins | Kshtriyas | Vanus |
|---|---|---|---|
| Saint Elphinstone College, Bombay | 59 | 10 | 38 |
| Deccan College, Poona | 107 | 1 | 1 |
| Free General Assembly's Institution, Poona | 34 | 1 | 6 |
| Saint Xavier's College, Bombay | 15 | 1 | 6 |
| Gujarat College, Ahmedabad | 3 | – | 1 |
| Rajaram College, Kolhapur | 23 | – | – |
| Total | 241 | 13 | 51 |

The Governer of Bombay Sir Richard Temple, wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, in 1879, that the "Chitpawan tribe still stands in vigour and prosperity. They are inspired with national sentiment and with an ambition bounded only with the limits of India itself . . . If you were to count heads among over best native employees all over the Deccan and the Concan, and even among our humble village accountants you would be surprised to find what a hold this tribe of Chitpawans has over the whole administrative machinery of the country. And this position is won over not by favour but by force of merit. For among prizemen and honours holders in the schools and graduates of the University the Chitpawans are predominant . . . But nothing that we do now, by way of education, emolument, or advancement in the public service, at all satisfies the Chitpawans. They will never be satisfied till they regain their ascendency in the country, as they had it in the last century.[6]

These influences touched Jotiba Phule to the very core. He felt that the condition of the untouchables was horrible. The untouchable could not walk

5 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

6 *The Hindustan Times,* ( New Delhi ) 8th July–1962.

on the streets in the morning or in the evening (at the time of sunrise and sunset) lest his long shadow should pollute the house of a Brahmin. He had to carry an earthen pot hanging around his neck for his sputum. He had to tie a branch of leaves to the back of his hip so that his foot-prints might be erased. The untouchables thus were treated as a species much lower than even a dog or a cat. The Brahmins, as the custodians of religion and religious practices, were the natural targets for those who aimed at creating a new society by fighting these evils root and branch. The western impact was not confined to a particular field, and especially the social institution of caste came under attack as being incompatible. The earliest exponent of this school of thought was Jotiba Phule. He welcomed the Western secular education. He traced the causes for the backwardness of the Hindu society. The caste system had proved a great hindrance to individual progress. The very philosophy of caste hierarchy was detrimental to social advancement. Jotiba Phule was "extremely irritated with the Brahmins and the caste structure of the Hindus as propounded by them; he felt an attraction for Christian religion,"[7] and had also spoken highly of the "Mohammedans because of the principle of equality in their religion."[8] He felt that the caste system was a steel frame, and the so called lower classes were denied education and social status.

Jotiba Phule, as he belonged to the lower class, believed that the Brahmin ascendancy in the social and religious matters kept away the vast multitude of the Indian masses. He was not interested in merely bringing about a change in the religious practices, he wanted to eradicate the evil effects of Brahminism which perpetuated social inequality. He could find that the backward classes were deliberately kept as such in order to ensure the front ranks in all walks of life for the Brahmins. Centuries of subjugation had reduced the Indian masses almost to the position of a dumb-driven cattle. He goaded them to revolt against the Hindu deities, the religious practices, the scriptures and the priests. In short, he raised the standard of revolt against the age-old tradition which enslaved the masses. Western knowledge was an eye-opener to the existing evils in the social conditions of the society. He could precisely visualise that the social structure of India was tottering and hence was in need of maximum revolutionary changes. He felt that superstitions, false beliefs and baseless customs required complete overhauling. The Brahmins, on their part, played a different role when

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7 *Sarvajanika Satyadharma Pustaka, Poona,* 1891, p. 353.

8 Phule, Jotirao. Manav Mohammed, *Akhandadi Kavyarachana,* pt. II, p. 489.

they saw that the lower castes were getting associated in the form of caste sabhas or associations. They tried to turn their attention away from the then existing Hindu religious practices. "There were some who sought to defend caste on the ground that the substitution of the western class system for the Indian caste system would not usher in an egalitarian society."[9]

The Brahmo-Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj were started to reform the religious practices but without giving up their Brahminical interpretations, as to the social thought in Maharashtra :

> " From the early days of the British rule to the beginning of the twentieth century we find an unbroken chain of thinkers in Maharashtra. Some of them forcibly advocated emulation of Britishers in social matters, while some championed the revival of traditional culture of the Hindus. An interesting interplay of action and interaction is thus witnessed in the thought current of Maharashtrian thinkers of nineteenth century. Lokhitwadi alias Gopal Hari Deshmukh, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar (1856–82), Jotirao Phule ( 1827–1890 ), Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856–1895) and Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920) were some of the persons who took active part in the development of social thought in Maharashtra during this period." [10]

Jotiba Phule's rise had taken the Brahmins to their toes, and the Brahmins, to counteract the moves of Jotiba Phule and his attacks through his various writings, called upon their compatriots to play an unique role. For example during the 1890's Maharashtrian nationalists started an annual Shivaji festival in honour of the great seventeenth century warrior who led a major revolt against the Mughal Empire and the Sultan of Bijapur, a Muslim rule in the Deccan. The festival was one of the ingenious methods used by Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920) to spread the nationalist movement among the people who had remained aloof from politics. With its use of traditional priests, images, prayers and historical and religious discussions the festival appealed to persons who felt ill at ease at gatherings with a more anglicised character. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, was probably the most popular Indian nationalist, to advocate Traditionalism.

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9 Sankar Ghose, *The Western Impact on Indian Politics*, ( 1885-1919), Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1967, Preface, p. ix.

10 Kulkarni, A. D. ( Madgulkar), *Development of Social Thought in Maharashtra*, Unpublished Thesis, Shivaji University, Kolhapur, March, 1972.

The following article in his Marathi newspaper the *Kesari*, was judged by a jury as seditious under the provisions of Indian Penal Code and Tilak was sentenced to 18 months in jail. "Speakers at Shivaji festival were concerned about one important event of historical importance, viz., Shivaji's treacherous act of killing Afzalkhan. When Afzalkhan and Shivaji met alone below the walls of the fort, Shivaji killed Afzalkhan with his metal tiger claws. When the circumstances and ethics of killing were debated, Tilak found a moral justification for the killing of Afzalkhan in the Bhagavadgita (The Song Divine). In the *Gita,* Krishna tells the warrior Arjuna that killing in war is permissible as long as it is not done for selfish reasons. Extremist politicians used the same argument to justify terrorism against the British."[11] Bal Gangadhar Tilak was undoubtedly the first and the greatest nationalist of India, but when Brahminism was challenged by Jotiba Phule and his caste sabhas, even nationalists like B. G. Tilak and his thoughts were not free from Brahminical influences. "In the Shivaji festival two orthodox Chitpawan Brahmins, Damodar and Balkrishna Chaphekar asked the people to risk their lives 'on the battle field in a national war' and to shed upon the earth the life-blood of the enemies who destory our religion. In the Ganapati Festival they asked " this is called Hindustan, how is it that the English rule here."[12]

In the then existing conditions of India "Both those who agitated for reforms and those who collaborated with the British were drawn from groups which traditionally enjoyed high status."[13] This cultural revival and the growth of political extremism which often went together, especially in Maharashtra, had its greatest impact during the nineteenth century and it was felt everywhere. In Madras it was Mrs Besant in collaboration with Tilak. B. G. advocated for extremism. But the Brahmin reformers had their own limitations. They belonged to the white collared gentry and could address themselves to that class only because the other classes had fully understood the Brahmins. They tried to revise only those customs which were incompatible with the industrial city life. This was all due to the swinging of the pendulum to the other side because of the activities of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj', stared by Jotiba Phule. Jotiba Phule was not a social reformer but was a revolutionary and naturally he is known as the Father of the revolutionary social

11 *Kesari* : June 15th. 1897. Translated in India Home Proceedings. (London-India Office records).

12 *Report of the Sedition Committee*, Public Proceeding No. 356, May, 1895, Para's, 1 and 2.

13 John R. Maclane, *The Political Awakening in India.* Prentice, 1970, p. 1.

reform movement of Maharashtra. He influenced the society through his various publications, and the fact that he himself belonged to the lower caste group was an additional advantage which attracted the following of large masses. His publications threw open the reality on the various aspects of Brahminism. Through his writings Jotiba Phule made an impact which threw a challenge to the position of the Brahmins in the Deccan and especially the centre of Brahminism, viz., Poona. "Although Brahmin dominance was still unshaken, there were signs that its Poona leadership was not so solid as it had been." [14] while Jotiba's activities were becoming stronger, and he was gaining position of importance as a leader of the non-Brahmins, "Brahmins created disagreements among its leaders over tactics. Ranade's programme had shrewdly coupled moderate politics and social reform, so as to give the Maharashtrian leadership an image of enlightenment." [15] "Obviously this would please the Government House, but it would also establish a connection with the non-sectarian politicians in Bombay city. This opening into a wider field was vital to the politicians of the Deccan, and to win it they had to avoid suspicion that they were merely the Peshwai in Victorian guise." [16]

The rise of Jotiba Phule and his attack on the Brahmins, was a great set-back to the Brahminical leadership in the Deccan, so much so, the Brahmins were divided among themselves on the ways and means to face this new social thought that was rising against Brahminical influence. Without this movement of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and a revolutionary leader like Jotiba Phule, history of Brahminism would have been quite different. The Brahmins, throughout southern India, were pressed in every way to change their process of politics and were compelled to take note of the movement of Jotiba Phule, and the problem was that, they (Brahmins) were divided on the issue. "The orthodox were against it; and it was unacceptable to those whose interest in social reform was languid, and who thought in any case that it was not the way to add to their support in Maharashtra. Chiplonkar's uncompromising attitudes and the appeal to the past glories of the empire in the columns of the 'Maratha' suggested an alternative way of mobilising support. Ostensibly the battles opened over the issue of social reform, but the clash of personalities, the rivalry for the control of the Deccan Education Society, of the newspapers, and eventually of the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha*

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14 Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism : Competition and Colloboration in Later 19th Century*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 242.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 243.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 244.

itself were really a struggle for leadership between the attitudes,"[17] within Brahmins themselves. Refer foot notes.*

Jotiba Phule had set this struggle and conflicts between the upper castes, between themselves, and at such junctures, Jotiba Phule felt the need for an institution. " A revolutionary leader like Jotiba Phooley required an institution, an authoritative credo, and a platform for the propagation of his ideals."[18] Accordingly Jotiba Phule convened on September 24, 1873, a meeting of all his admirers and disciples at Poona. About sixty men from many important centres of Maharashtra assembled. Jotiba named his organisation ' Satya Shodhak Samaj ' (Society for seeking Truth).[19] Its aim was to challenge Brahminical supremacy, the first of its kind ever organised with sole objective " to redeem the shudras and atishudras from the influence of Brahminical scriptures under the Brahmin priest who fleeced them, to teach them their human rights, liberate them from mental and religious slavery."[20] Jotiba Phule with a great depth in the studies of the origins of Hinduism, had come to the conclusion that Brahminism had always controlled and prevented education from reaching the lowest classes. All sufferings of non-Brahmins were due to the monopoly of Brahmins in education. In

17 *Ibid.*, p. 244.

* In response to this need a group of Brahmins in Poona founded in 1867 an organisation called the *Poona Association.* The *Poona Association* was created with the dual object of creating opinion among the educated classes on the crucial issues of the day, and communicating the views of these classes to the Government of Bombay. In 1870 the Association was reorganised as the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.* The Sabha not only claimed the patronage of landed aristocrats like the Pant Pratinidhi of Aundh and the Maharaja of Kolhapur but it also counted among its active members, the most sophisticated thinker of his day Maharashtra, and Ganesh Vasudev Joshi, a liberal, and a leading figure in the politics of Poona. While the support of the landed aristocrats gave legitimacy to the Sabha, its political activities were controlled by men like Ranade and Joshi who represented the western educated classes. The popular base of the Sabha was provided by ninety-five representatives from different cities of Maharashtra who attended the inaugural meeting of April 1870. These representatives had been ' elected ' by over 6,000 persons, representing all cates, creeds, and interests..

The *Sarvajanik Sabha* has often been dismissed as an organisation which concerned itself exclusively with presenting cautiously phrased petitions to the British Government in India. But leading members of the Sabha like Ranade and Joshi did not envisage for it a purely passive role...

The Sabha resembled a caste organisation to the extent that it provided a forum for the political activities of sophisticated urban castes like the (Chitipavan Brahmins) Foot notes : *Kumar Ravinder; Western India in The nineteenth Century.* A study in the Social history of Maharashtra- London, p. 174-176.

18 Keer D., *Mahatma Jotirao Phooley : Father of Our Social Revolution,* Popular, Bombay, 1964, p. 125.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Southern India, and especially wherever Brahmin domination was felt in the nineteenth century, the bitterest disputes were over the Brahmin grip over education which seemed to be the main avenue to domination. The most influential critic of this social order was a Shudra, Jotirao Govindrao Phule, who had himself been educated at a mission school, and was deeply influenced by Christian teachings on equality. "Belonging to the Phule Malis (Gardner's caste), Jotirao was well placed to voice a general protest against the Brahmins, because his own caste, while standing below the Maratha-Kunbis, could eat and drink with them, and it would also speak for the untouchable Mahars and Mangas".[21]

Jotiba Phule's was a united platform, and he could command the ignorant masses, because for the first time these masses could find a leader who belonged to their community. With this advantage on his side Jotiba could successfully unite various sub-castes (Jatis) under the banner of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj'. Jotiba, realising that the sole cause of all the difficulties of the masses was lack of education, started various types of educational institutions. Home being the earliest school for every child, he thought of making learned the ignorant mother, who was the first teacher. So "in 1848, Jotirao Phooley founded a school for Girls."[22] This school was thrown open to all classes, but the practical difficulty he faced was the non-availability of female teachers; and as a solution to this, he first taught his wife at home and appointed her as a teacher in the school. This act brought reward for him when the then President of Education Board, Sir Erskine Peery was much impressed by Jotiba's attempts. At his instance the Daksina Prize Committee sanctioned a monthly grant of rupees fifty towards the maintenance of this school. Jotiba was a pioneer of the female education in India. He was the first to establish a school for girls, and to conduct it with much personal hardship. There were girls' schools run by the missionaries who were more interested in religious conversion; but Jotiba felt that the only effective way to fight the dominance of Brahmins, and break their monopoly was to educate the masses by employing non-Brahmin teachers, who could understand the mind of the lower classes.

Jotiba, no doubt, earned the sympathies of the British "because the natural antagonism of Indian races was a considerable element of British strength, so a disassociating spirit was kept alive, because if all India were to

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21 Anil Seal, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

22 *Jotirao Phule, Samagra Grantha*, Adhikari Prakashan, Poona, p. 295.

unite against us (British) how long could they maintain themselves."[23] Jotiba Phule was pro-British not because he was pro-imperialist but because he believed in undoing Brahmin supremacy and caste arrogance. Jotiba Phule's love of service was insatiable. He befriended the suppressed classes. Poverty, wherever found, claimed his attention. It was his passion for social justice. He campaigned vigorously for social equality and abolition of caste. The British had always played and followed the policy of "Divide and rule" and naturally such movements were encouraged. This might be also one of the reasons of the limitation put on the spread of the Satya Shodhak Movement in Madras presidency. The British might have carried this tactics of playing Brahmins against non-Brahmins from Bombay to Madras Presidency, but one thing is clear. Jotiba Phule did influence the non-Brahmin movement immensely even outside his province during his life-time. The British first encouraged Brahminism, but without malice to non-Brahmins. Jotiba's contribution need not be viewed as the outcome of such a British politics, because his was a movement which had a cause within itself and was not something of an external creation. (Refer. 21) Besides, he was only a social reformer and not a politician. His cause was that of human dignity, and hence he appreciated the "British rule, as a divine dispensation. Christ raised the British people from a very barbarous state and sent them to India to deliver the crippled Shudras from the cunning Aryan-Brahmins." (Incidentally it may be noted that a similar attitude came to be held by the Dravidian Movement under the leadership of (E. V. R. Naicker). The brahmins, Jotiba Phule argues, were not the original inhabitants of India. They were a people of Aryan stock who had been attracted to the country by its wealth and its fertility in a period of remote antiquity, and who had subjugated its original inhabitants, and referred to them subsequently in terms of opprobrium as the Shudras (the insignificant). To establish their superiority on a firm basis the Aryans had :

> "deviated that system of mythology, the institution of caste, to which we can find no parallel amongst other nations. They founded a system of priest craft, the like of which we can hardly find anywhere since the times of the Druids. The institution of caste has been the main object of their laws, had existence among them originally...The highest rights, the highest privileges and gifts, and everything that could make

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23 Wood to Elgin... (Wood Papers), Vol. 7, Quoted by : S. Gopal, *British Policy in India* (1858-1905), Cambridge, p. 36.

> the life of the Brahmin easy...were inculcated and enjoined, whereas the shudras and the atishudras were regarded with supreme contempt, and the meanest rights of humanity were denied to them."[24]

But it does not mean that he accepted the British as the only guides and philosophers. Jotiba did not hesitate to criticise the British policy of education, and also no hesitation advocated for with various reforms. " When he met the Indian Education Commission appointed by the Government of India in 1882, he submitted to the Hunter Commission as follows : ' I think primary education of the masses should be compulsory upto certain age say at least twelve years'."[25]

In his memorandum dated 19th October, 1882, Jotiba himself gave a detailed account of the schools he established, the period of his service as a teacher, and his experience in the field of education. Jotiba continued: " primary schools are almost all of Brahmins, a few trained and most of them are untrained. He called upon the Government to train these Brahmin teachers as far as possible and to select teachers of the cultivating classes who will be able to mix freely with them and understand their wants and wishes much better than Brahmin teachers." [26]

Jotiba was also aware of the position of the Brahmins and the education policy of the British in Madras. This can be seen from Jotiba Phule's reference to the situation in Madras presidency, when he spoke to the Hunter Commission : The higher education, he said, " be arranged so as to be within easy reach of all, and the books of the subjects for Matriculation should be published in the Government Gazette as is done in Madras." [27] This speaks of his knowledge of the then existing social conditions in Madras presidency and also throws light on the British politics of gaining experience in one, viz., Bombay presidency and applying the solution in another Presidency namely, Madras. Jotiba Phule's thoughts had influenced all those areas where Brahmin dominance was felt, and the British diplomacy was one of understanding and assessing their future in India, on the basis of their experiences in Bombay presidency and applying them to similar types of problems in Madras presidency in a diplomatic way. The British attitude towards these developments in Bombay certainly influenced the British policy

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24 From translation of *Gulamgiri* available with *BSCHFM*.
25 *Report of the Hunter Commission,* 1883, Vol. II, p. 141.
26 Keer D., *op. cit.*, pp. 168-71.
27 Keer D., *op. cit.*, p. 175.

elsewhere. "It was because of these developments, the British, to strengthen the loyal citizens, came forward to help the coming into existence of a bigger class of educated men among the backward or lower classes of the Deccan. They had the suspicion in their minds that they ( the backward classes ) too will join with the agitators. ...The English people realised the probable danger of this and used their vast resources to create a strong body of educated men from the ranks of the loyal castes."[28]

The British policy in the educational field was to a great extent influenced by the developments in the Bombay presidency because of Jotiba Phule's work. Jotiba Phule's movement Satya Shodhak Samaj had influenced British policy so much that they had to revise their own policy to suit the conditions of the society in southern India. Though Bombay and Madras presidency were two separate units, the administration, and administrative policy were one and similar in nature. Besides, both these presidencies were facing similar problems and to deal with them, perhaps the British had to adopt similar policies and assess their effectiveness. "They could feel the danger which they had to guard against themselves was that the Englishmen had superficial knowledge of India, and their experiences were confined to brief visits and the weak point of their political reforms, was that they were intended to benefit not wholly, but mainly a particular class."[29]

This supports the statement made earlier about the immense influence of Jotiba Phule on the British policy and social thought which had wide repercussions. According to M. N. Srinivas : "Jotirao Phule's reforms, and his social thought anticipate the programme of the non-Brahmin Movement in Madras. The measures which Phooley advocated in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century were to become the main items in the programme of the Non–Brahmin parties of Bombay and Madras in the first half of this century."[30] Professor Ghurye observes that Phule's demand for special representation for non–Brahmins in the services and local bodies went unheeded till the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the Maharaja of Kolhapur ( Shri Shahu Chhatrapati ) took up the Non–Brahmin cause. "Thanks mainly to his efforts, special representation through mixed electorals was conceded to the non–Brahmins in the Montague–Chelmsford

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28 Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, Macmillan & Co., Bombay, 1910 Note No. 24, pp. 357–358.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 326.

30 Srinivas M. N. : *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962, pp. 20–21.

Reforms. ... Further, Prof. G. S. Ghurye quotes a resolution of the Finance Department of the Government of Bombay, dated September 17, 1923, prohibiting the recruitment of Brahmins and allied castes to the lower servies... This policy of reserving a certain percentage of the posts for the non-Brahmin castes was followed by other provincial governments. The logical consequence of this policy was seen in Madras as early as 1924".[31]

Hence the impact of Jotiba Phule's ideas and actions was deep and continuous on the society and the British policy. The 'Satya Shodhak' had influenced the British policy, and the movement was mainly one of social reform, having its own economic, social and political implications and having an idealogy of its own. All these thoughts were given expression to in the writings of Jotiba Phule.

**Economic and Political Thought of Jotiba Phule**

His economic thoughts are laid down in a pamphlet entitled '*Isārā*' (Warning) published in 1885, in which he discusses the economic conditions of the Indian masses at length. He advocated that the Government should help the people by developing irrigation facilities, because Indian agriculture was completely dependent upon the monsoon rains. Even in this regard he blamed the Brahmins for not developing irrigation facilities when they were in power. His economic thoughts are few but they are meaningful which were attuned to modern developments. But in the then existing conditions of sheer ignorance, his thoughts did not contribute to the development of the downtrodden section of the society but certainly influenced the government. He appealed to the Government to construct small bunds for water to collect, which would be helpful for the people in needy times. What is worth considering here is his bent of mind towards the concept of a welfare state, when he pleads that the army and police should be pressed into service for constructing such bunds. His thoughts were less doctrinaire but more a reflection of the effects of the caste system and the then existing social conditions.

**Social and Political Thought**

In his book '*Śetakaryāncha Asuda*' (Whip-Cord of the cultivator) he elaborates the social life under the Maratha rule, and shows how the Brahmin influence kept the people uneducated, and how later under the British rule the people were over-burdened with the revenue policy, which again was completely controlled by the Brahmins. "Jotirao entreated Queen Victoria

31 *Ibid.*, p. 21. Ghurye G. S. : quoted by M. N. Srinivas.

in his ballads to take pity on the poverty-stricken peasants, rescue them from the inhuman Brahmin tyranny and save her rule from corruption and malpractices. He suggested that teachers, magistrates and clerks should be appointed from other castes also so that the chain of these tyrants might be broken."[32] Jotirao Phule in April, 1877, announced an essay competition on a fictitious topic, "Imaginary Tour of India by Queen Victoria". She comes to a certain village where a Mahar and Mang kept down their bundles of baggot, met her and narrated to her their miserable conditions under Peshwa rule and their disabilities under the British rule. A few days later, Jotirao himself wrote a booklet on this topic and published it under the caption '*Kaifiyat*'.[33]

Jotiba Phule was a man of both theory and action, and because of the various techniques employed by him as the one mentioned above, his movement was a great success. He consolidated all the non-Brahmin castes in Maharashtra and even to this day the term **Bahujan Samaj** ( society of all castes except Brahmins ) is quite a popular one. Through the idea of Bahujan Samaj, he created a social revolution which was not limited to Maharashtra alone in its territorial sense, because Bombay and Madras presidencies were wide enough, and also so close to each other, that everything about Jotiba Phule could be known in Madras. His struggle was not limited to any caste among the non-Brahmins, but it was a protest by all the castes, against one single caste namely Brahmins.

An assessment of his thoughts on Brahminism as stated eleswhere give an idea of his contribution to the thoughts of the Justice Party in Madras since 1916.

Jotiba Phule's thoughts were wide ranging and were expressed in a number of ways i. e., in politics, public speaking, and in writing. There were two main causes to which he was devoted throughout his life-time. They were:

a) Social Reform-which meant elimination of the caste system; and
b) Democratic Justice.

These causes led him into conflicts, and he allowed himself to be a controversial figure. Concern for the poor, the down-trodden and the weak was the key-note to his life. His personality, his thoughts and actions were,

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32 Keer, D., *Mahatma Jotirao Phooley, Father of Our Social Revolution*, Popular, Bombay 1964. p. 99.
33 *Ibid.*, p. 149.

very much influenced by his birth in a lower caste. As a child he showed great intellectual capacity, but he was not correctly understood by his father. His pungent criticism and straight forwardness had brought Brahmins to their toes. Jotiba Phule raised the level of his movement by his own contribution. Without education, political and economic power, the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' achieved a good deal as a social reform movement. In fact, the real impetus to the non-Brahmin movement was not forthcoming until the formation of the ' Satya Shodhak Samaj'. He wanted revolutionary social reforms, because his very faith in Hinduism was rudely shaken.

Jotiba Phule began to attack the various rituals ceremonies and the priests. He was against idol worship and superstitions and was interested in reviving the real Indian culture. Jotiba Phule possed unusual courage and strength of character. It is no wonder that he was greatly disturbed by the precarious position of the down-trodden masses in Indian society. The high esteem and respect in which Jotiba Phule himself held the poor is evident in all his writings. He wanted definite action to counteract the growing unrest, resulting from the economic sufferings of the masses and the alienation of the intellectuals. He was also endowed with the single-eyed vision of a fanatic. Jotirao Phule on year before his death in 1889, called upon the non-Brahmins to condemn Congress as an engine of Brahminical despotism... If the Aryans hold not one but a hundred Congresses," Phule wrote, " no sensible Sudra or Ati-Sudra would become its member. I can confidently state that if Sudras do join, our beneficient rulers will be disgusted with them." "In 1890, Jotirao died, the only pioneer, a solitary beackon light in the darkness of the age, for the guidance of the Non-Brahmin reformers who had yet to come."[34]

This movement was further carried by His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja of Kolhapur, who spread the movement far and wide in India. The Dravidian movement is actually based on the same lines of thought in social, economic and political field, as advocated by Jotiba Phule and His Highness Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur. " The Dravidian movement is a socio-religious revolt against Hinduism and the way of social life it represents, it is an aggressive and violent manifestation of the inferiority complex of the Sudras who under the influence of Western oriented education have become self-conscious.[35] Similar were the conditions in Maharashtra,

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34 Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism,* Cambridge, 1968, p. 243.

35 Iqbal, Narain, (Ed.), *State Politics in India, (The Dravidian Movement),* Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1967, pp. 170-71.

under the impact of Western education; but there was no violence or revolt. Social reform was the main plank. The non-Brahmin movement of Madras starts from 1916, which came from the efforts of a group of people who formed a political party; but before this, efforts of Jotirao Phule took also the form of British diplomacy in Madras presidency. The social and political thought of Justice Party as contained in the non-Brahmin Manifesto of the Justice Party include all the thoughts of Satya Shodhak Samaj movement of Jotiba Phule.(Refer Non-Brahmin Manifesto).Jotiba Phule called Brahmins as Aryans long before Mr. E. V. R. Naicker. Refer ref. no. 24. He disbelieved in idol worship before E. V. R. Naicker did. All this points to the fact that the non-Brahmin movement of Madras has its origins in the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' of Maharashtra. "The Dravidian movement projects a theory of racial origin of the Tamil speaking Non-Brahmins. The conflict that arose on account of competition for limited Government jobs has been transformed into a ground for perpetual tension between Aryans an Dravidians."[36]

The study of Jotiba Phule's efforts and 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' reveals that the non-Brahmin movement was ushered in with the efforts of Jotiba Phule. Philip Spratt has aptly pointed out that Jotiba Phule is the original source. Similarly, Miss Gail Omvedt has also gone considerably deep into the understanding of Satya Shodhak Samaj movement in Western Maharashtra and Jotiba Phule's activities. When this fact is clearly established that he had influenced the non-Brahmin risings, it is now necessary and worthwhile to examine the non-Brahmin movement under the leadership of Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur in greater details as it has been a neglected chapter in the realm of non-Brahmin studies. It may be stated that while Miss Gail Omdvet's study limits itself to Western Maharashra and Jotiba Phule, Eugene F. Irschick's study is limited to non-Brahmin movement in Madras. Philip Spratt in his book 'D. M. K. in Power'; tries to locate and establish interconnections between these movements and the mutual influences. Hence an attempt is made here to find out the exact connections between the two movements i. e. Satya Shodhak of Maharashtra and the Justice Party of Madras. A chronological study of the non-Brahmin movement becomes necessary as Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur follows the policy of Jotiba Phule and gives continuity to the movement. So an assessment of Shri Shahu of Kolhapur and his contribution to the non-Brahmin movement is attempted in the next chapter.

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36 *Ibid*,, p. 171.

Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur

# 4 : SHRI SHAHU MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR AND THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

In the history of the non-Brahmin movement, after Jotiba Phule follows the glorious role of Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur. His rule at Kolhapur (Native State), though brief, contributed tremendously to the cause of the non-Brahmin movement in particular and social upliftment in general. He firmly believed that unless all people in India-men and women-were educated, the nation would never be free, united and strong. He was a prince under the protection of the British, but his expression of loyalty and gratitude to the British rulers was without prejudice to his concept of *Swaraj* or Independence. Further, he recognised education as the greatest boon of the British Rule in India. Though a prince of a small kingdom, he dreamt of an educated free India and a strong casteless society. Shri Shahu Maharaja had a set of determined aims and ideals which he cherished till his death. His contribution to the propagation of the non-Brahmin movement was unnoticed largely due to the fact that he lacked the tools of publicity. Being averse to the arts of self-advertisement, " he was less known either in India or in England than many other Princes. "[1]

(Some documents connected with this issue have been found in Kolhapur Record Office, on which this work is heavily based.)

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1 Latthe, A. B., *Memoirs of His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja of Kolhapur* Times of India, Bombay, 1924, Vol. I., Preface, p. VII.

There is naturally, a dearth of material on H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj. Shri A. B. Latthe's contribution is, however, significant even to this day. Besides this, Shri B. B. Jadhav has brought out a collection of H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj's speeches under the litle " *Rajarshi Shahu Maharajanchi Bhashane* " ( in Marathi, 1971 ). The Kolhapur Record Office has collected and preserved the Shahu Files ( Shahu Daftar ) containing a good lot of correspondence, publications etc. With the help of these primary and valuable source much light can be thrown on the contribution made by Shri Shahu to thc Non-Brahmin Movement. The correspondence also reveals as to how he ( Shri Shahu ) was in constant touch with the various-non-Brahmin leaders, non-Brahimin organisations and Native Princes in South India and elsewhere.

**Shri Shahu and his Social Thoughts**

Shri Shahu was greatly influenced by Jotiba Phule. Some of the main trends of thoughts left behind by Jotiba Phule were :

a) " All men are the children of one God, who is thus their parent;

b) As there is no necessity of any intermediary to approach the mother or to please the father, there is no necessity of an intermediary such as a preceptor to enable the devotee to offer his prayers to God;

c) Anyone accepting these principles was qualified to be a member of Satya Shodhak Samaj and spread education among the non-Brahmins. "[2]

These thoughts of Jotiba Phule influenced Shri Shahu very much even though he himself was secular in his acts and deeds. "His Highness made inquiries" in what Mr. Latthe aptly terms 'in the Spirit of an Akbar', into various reform-movements of Hinduism, the Satya Shodhak in the Deccan Brahmoism, Theosophy and the Arya Samaj in search of the system which would satisfy the spiritual as well as the social needs of the non-Brahmins."[3]

Shri Shahu, like Jotiba Phule, had to tread a thorny path as a revolutionary social reformer. He had to face many problems. To treat any human being as an untouchable is a grotesque travesty of religion, yet millions of them have been treated so for centuries. Those neglected people were now having their revenge on the community which had ill-treated them. Eradication of untouchability and uplift of the depressed masses by means of education

2 *Report of Satya Shodhak Samaj Third Anniversary* (See for details p. 155 ).
3 Latthe, A. B.,....Preface Vol. I 1924 p. VII.

had been the main plank of these social reformers. But the movement was originated by Jotiba Phule himself. Besides these influences, Shri Shahu's thoughts were also equally influenced by the then existing social and economic conditions. "The activities or the services rendered by him in furtherance of the non-Brahmin cause and the uplift of the downtrodden section of the society cannot be simply brought forward, but they have to be assessed in the light of the critical situations and the environment in which he fought against the social odds of the Hindu society."[4] Perhaps no Native Rule in the history has such a social history without wars. If at all there was a war, it was against the very root causes of the evil caste system of the Indian society. Shri Shahu had ideals not just as philosophy but he practised them and put them in the daily lives of the masses. He was much perturbed by the "strong religious and educational hold which Brahmins had in his Native State Kolhapur. Brahmin bureaucracy was a great menace to his administration."[5]

The impact of English education gave rise to the development of social thought throughout India. But the social thought developed in Maharashtra had its uniqueness and it influenced the whole of Southern India. No Presidency ( Bombay or Madras ) or Native State remained uninfluenced by the social thought which emerged so strongly in Maharashtra, especially in Kolhapur. "The impact of English education resulted in two different schools of thought and the main bone of contention was : one, accepting the Westernization and the other, rejecting the Western education and its social thoughts. The school which accepted the Western pattern brought forth the new ideals of social reforms in Indian society and those who rejected, stood to revolt against the British rule."[6] This conflict which affected the far South was known as non-Brahmin movement. The leader of the accepted school was Jotiba Phule and after his death in 1890, "many of his followers thought that the Satya Shodhak movement was getting weak. But this cause was taken up by Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur."[7]

Shri Shahu was greatly perturbed by "the garb of religion which went so far as even to teach that a Brahmin can enjoy anybody's wife without the

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4 *Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series*–P. B. Salunkhe, Shivaji University Extension Lecture Series (Under publication).

5 K. R. O. Shahu's letter to Wodehouse, File No. 34, L. No. 9, dated 19th February, 1919. **Appendix 13.**

6 Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series, P. B. Salunkhe-Shivaji University Extension Lecture Series, Kolhapur. ( Under Publication )

7 Ibid.

least idea of sin in his mind. Shri Shahu in this letter also points out as to how the Editor of the '*Deccan Ryot*', who advocated the cause of the non-Brahmins, found it difficult to get a place in Poona to set up his press."[8] "Shri Shahu, since his boyhood, had a cherished objective to overrule and break the Brahmin bureaucracy"[9] and "anti-Brahminism assumed a violent form which resulted in riots that occurred at Kolhapur."[10] The reasons for this attitude of Shri Shahu are many, e. g. when he ascended the throne in 1894, the throne was under the Brahmin influence. His reign came under heavy attacks of the Brahminical fanatics. In Nov. 1900, the Kolhapur Municipality passed certain resolutions reserving a certain Ghat on the Panchaganga river for Brahmins for taking the *Ekadashi* bath. This is also known as the *Vedokta* ceremony. The non-Brahmin class defied this resolution. Meanwhile, the Maharaja noticed that when he used to visit the Ghat on the Panchaganga river, the priest blessed him with *Mantras* without taking a bath on the grounds that Shri Shahu and Shivaji were '*Shudras*' and not '*Kshatriyas.*'

"In 1901, during the *Navaratra Puja* it was claimed by the orthodox Brahmins that Ambabai (the principal deity of Kolhapur) was polluted by Narayan Bhat (Sevekarī) who had performed the *Vedic* rite in connection with the Maratha boys' *Shravani* in the *Shravan* month in which the sacred thread is worshipped."[11]

In August 1901, Bal Gangadhar Tilak visited Kolhapur on some business and also delivered a speech in Kolhapur. "Poona had targeted its tactics towards Shahu Maharaja. Shri Shahu and Tilak could not see eye to eye"[12]. In his speech at Kolhapur, delivered on 20th August, 1901, he stated, "Alhough I have no private concern of any sort with Kolhapur, still I have become very closely connected with you, the inhabitants of Karvir (i. e. Kolhapur) owing to "some circumstances of public nature."[13] Tilak, an

8 K. R. O. Shahu's letter to Wodehouse, File No. 34. L. No. 9 dated. 19th February. 1919. **Appendix 13.**

9 *Ibid.*

10 Sinha, M. R. ed. *Integration in India*–Papers and proceedings of UNESCO-aided 'First All India Scholars Conference on National Integration,' (Asian Studies) Bombay (71), p. 56.

11 Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series, Shivaji Univ. Kolhapur–(II) p. 18.

12 Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series,-P. B. Salunkhe, Shivaji Univ. Kolhapur (II) p. 36.

13 In the High Court of Justice Kings Bench Division, Between Bal Gangadhar Tilak–Plaintiff and Sir Valentine Chirol and Macmillan & Co. Vol. II. Translations or copies of Articles, Editorial Notes, etc. in *Kesari, Maratha, Rashtramat* and *Kal*, all Marathi newspapers (1917) (Refer for details in connection with the conflict between Tilak and Kolhapur).

extremist, was both a nationalist and a traditionalist. In his speech at Kolhapur he was indirectly trying to interfere with Shri Shahu's reforms by extolling Shivaji the Great and by attacking the masses on the one hand and terrorizing them against the reform-oriented efforts of Shri Shahu on the other. The so-called ' some circumstances of public nature ' in Shri Tilak's speech described earlier imply *per se* Shahu's activities in particular and the uplift of masses through them in general.

Many such incidents forced Shri Shahu to enter the non-Brahmin movement. Otherwise the Satya Shodhak Samaj movement was suffering from certain limitations after the death of Shri Jotiba Phule remaining a solitary force. "Shri Shahu was continuously facing the problems created by the Brahminical influences in his administration."[14] "The Maharaja distrusted the officials. He became accessible to the poor while on shikar. He contacted the masses without formalities and realised that the bureaucratic administration established by the Political Agent was not serving the people at all."[15] " Before assuming full powers, the Maharaja made an extensive tour of the Kolhapur State to acquaint himself with the people and problems of his own State."[16] Shri Shahu, though influenced by Jotiba Phule's thoughts, was away from any movement like the Satya Shodhak movement, and this was largely because the "brahmin Bureaucracy had such a strong hold both religiously and educationally over the non-Brahmins that not even a few educated non-Brahmins had the strength of character to go against them"[17] and besides "His Highness was essentially an orthodox, religious man in various ways."[18] Shri Shahu was in search of a religion or a system designed to serve the needs of the society which would help as a creed for the conduct of social and individual life.

During the period from 1894-1913, Shri Shahu was busy with his own administrative problems and social reforms. But the events such as the *Vedokta* ceremony and the hurdles laid in his way of reforms by the leadership of Tilak and the extremists, involved him deeply in strengthening the non-Brahmin movement. "Under any circumstances the clever

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14 Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series Justice G. N. Vaidya, Shivaji Univrsity Kolhapur. P. 18.

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

17 K. R. O. Shahu's letter to Wodehouse File No. 34, L. No. 9. dt. 19th Feb. 1919. **Appendix 13.**

18 Latthe, A. B.....Vol. I p. 186.

Brahmins had their own approaches"[19] in creating problems against the classes who were rising against the age-old system. During this period, Brahmins were a mobile community"[20] and they moved from place to place as and when required. It is perhaps because of their mobile nature that they had always prevented such religious, political or social movements which aimed at eliminating the caste system from becoming successful. In this process of survival, they acquired mobility and some new cultural traits. Once the Brahmins stabilized their position in different regions, they rigidly adhered to the self-imposed rules of caste. If there was any mobility in the caste system, it was within a permitted range. Groups moved upward or downward, when they moved upward, their superior status was rarely accepted but when they were downgraded, every caste accepted their lower status. It was this aspect which made Tilak ('Kesari' 22nd Sept. 1902) question whether, with the *Vedokta* ceremony, it was possible to turn a Maratha into a Brahmin. "Would Tanaji and Shivaji be Brahmins if they learnt the Vedas?"[21] The clever and shrewd Brahmins had left no place for any other community or caste to be covered by them. Right since 1873, the beginning of Satya Shodhak movement, the non-Brahmins started organising themselves, and in reaction to this, the Brahmins not only influenced the British but also Brahminized the national movement. All these factors compelled Shri Shahu to develop a non-Brahmin attitude. Several incidents took place at Kolhapur. Shri Shahu Maharaja ascended the throne in 1894 but the Satya Shodhak Samaj "was established in Kolhapur in July 1913."[22]

From 1894 to 1913, Shri Shahu was not an active participant in the non-Brahmin movement. He had always tried to maintain good and cordial relations with the Brahmins. "His Highness tried his best by obliging the Brahmins and giving them all good treatment, but His Highness found that they were all incorrigible"[23] in their approach. Ultimately he saw the discontent and was left with no alternative but to "break it by introducing Satya Shodhak and Arya Samaj. His Highness had approached Swami Paramanand of Agra with a request to teach *Vedas* and help the Satya Shodhak Samaj and be useful to teach the untouchables."[24] It was the Brahminical

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19 Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series, P. B. Salunkhe, Shivaji Univ. Kolhapur, p. 17 (I).

20 Karve, I., *Kinship Organization in India*, Poona, 1953, p. 63.

21 *Kesari,* quoted by P. B. Salunkhe....p. 16 (II).

22 Latthe, A. B.....p. 186, Vol. II.

23 K. R. O. Shahu's letter to Col. Wodehouse, (File No. 1918) L. Nos. 7016 and 7017 both dated 19th Jan. 1918. **Appendix 16.**

24 *Ibid.* **Appendix 16.**

atrocities that were responsible for his non-Brahmin attitude. Shri Shahu was more cautious and guarded in his approach to the non-Brahimin movement because of the extremists, who started taking an active part in the Home Rule movement. Home Rule movement had a great support of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Dr. Annie Besants Theosophical Society in Madras. To Shri Shahu, the extremist politics was nothing but Brahmin politics. He wanted not one *Samaj* but "Samajas to come and counteract the Brahmins. He felt that as long as other castes think that their Hindu religious worships cannot be done without Brahmins, their influence can never be lessened."[25] It is clear that Shri Shahu had a deep insight into the past and that he could foresee the future. It is because of this great quality that he played a significant role as a social reformer. "Preachers of reforms of many types have appeared from time to time, scholars and philosophers of the literate classes, saints, poets and lovers of their fellowmen sprang from a variety of castes. It may be doubted, however, if anything like a similar instance is recorded of a ruling prince who worked and suffered during his whole manhood in one long struggle against the deep-rooted evils of a complex social and religious system in order to effect the betterment of the humblest of his fellowmen."[26] "His Highness had no mind to enter the movement, but the Brahmins always misused his good offices by which the Maharaja made it his mission to work for the amelioration of all classes by emancipating them from the caste-system."[27] "The first task which Shri Shahu had to undertake was to pull the Kolhapur administration out of the depth and darkness which it had reached in the course of years."[28] It is in this background that he developed his social thought. The environmental factor had a great influence on the mind of Shri Shahu and he decided to play a dynamic role in the non-Brahmin movement.

Activities of Shri Shahu can be divided into two periods, viz., 1894-1913 and 1913-1922. During 1894-1913, as a protected prince, he limited his activities to his own field, and during this period of his rule there were heavy Brahminical influences. During 1900-1913, there were some important happenings in his life. Maratha-Brahmin relations have been subjected to strains ever since the downfall of the Maratha Empire and the rivalry between the two castes is a historical fact; but under the British rule the rivalry was further widened because of the disparities in economic, political

25 *Ibid.* **Appendix 16.**

26 Latthe, A. B.....Preface, Vol. I, p. IV.

27 *Ibid.*

28 Rajarshi Chh. Shahu Lecture Series, Justice G. N. Vaidya, Shivaji Univ. Kolhapur-(II). p. 1

and social fields. Here the British policy of ' Divide and Rule ' cannot be ignored. But what became an important factor in Shri Shahu's life was that the National Movement was gaining ground and it had a Brahminical leadership and, therefore, he took up the non-Brahmin cause actively supporting any Samaj which counter-acted the extremists. Shri Shahu's contribution to the spread of the non-Brahmin movement throughout India should be considered along with his contribution to the Montford Reforms. Montford Reforms cannot be considered ignoring the non-Brahmin movement in India, because it was the latter which led to the award of communal representation.

**Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur and the Non-Brahmin Movement**

The British rulers had a soft corner for the Native States and they treated them " not less than the Viceroy or Lieutenant Governor in the administration of the country."[29] The British were equally interested " in training the Princes of Native States to do something towards raising the whole tone and standard of life of the Native Princes and thereby to place their own future existence upon more durable foundations."[30] Because of the environment in which the Native Chief rulers reigned, they had developed a liberal outlook towards life and their rule. The British policy towards the Native Chiefs was also greatly influenced by the failures of the Christain missionaries in India. " The European missionaries have testified to the hold of the Brahmin over the bulk of the Hindus and this had to be broken if Christainity was to make headway in India."[31] The British could learn that the Brahmins on whom they had relied primarily in the initial period were not loyal, and hence they thought of helping the cause of the non-Brahmins. This change in their attitude made the British to have a symphathetic outlook towards the Native States. The British policy to-wards the native rules can be best illustrated by Lord Curzon's speech and his letter to Lord Hamilton ( Refer. Appendix 36 and 37 ). In the beginning of the twentieth century the British rule was greatly influenced by the nationalist movement, which was dominated by the "participants coming from the higher caste who had been most exposed to Western culture in British commercial companies, administrative services and colleges. In terms of social back-ground, there was little to distinguish the early nationalists from the Indians who served the British as partners and subordinates. Both those who agitated

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29 Lord Curzon, speeeh at the State Banquet at Gawlior. 29th Nov. 1899. Refer **Appendix No. 36.**

30 Lord Curzon to Lord Hamilton 29th Aug. 1900. Refer **Appendix No. 37.**

31 Srinivas, M. N., *'Caste in Modern India'*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, August, 1957, p. 532.

for reforms and those who collaborted with the British were drawn from the groups which traditionally enjoyed high status."[32]

The British, fearing the growth of the Nationalist Movement and the disloyalty of the Brahmin administrators, thought of relying much upon the Native Princes and of attracting the non-Brahmins. They themselves desired to uplift the downtrodden sections of the society in search of loyal administrators. Under these circumstances Shri Shahu got the opportunity to manipulate the situation when it was most conducive. The British were equally influenced by the Satya Shodhak Samaj movement and they changed their outlook towards Indian politics. (If it is ascertained that the two social reformers viz., Jotiba Phule and Shri Shahu played a pro-British role, it would not be wrong to state that the British played an anti-Brahmin role or a pro-Shahu reformist's role.) The British attitude was extremely favourable to the non-Brahmin movement, because they could find that Brahminism was a great threat to their stability and continuity in India. As far as the society at large, it was afraid of the power being transferred to the hands of Brahnins through various reform acts. Similar conditions existed throughout Southern India. Even in Madras Presidency the situation was similar : the British found "Brahmin lawyers were taking a leading part in anti-British national agitation; they calculated that they could secure support for the government from amongst the Non-Brahmins by making it appear that their interests lay with the Government rather than with the Congress."[33]

Hence Shri Shahu, influenced by this situation and the background of his Native State, was forced to plunge into the non-Brahmin cause. In his letter dated 19th Jan. 1918 (R. 7016 and R. 7017), he made it very elear as to how the Brahmin bureaucracy interfered in his administration. He had been subjected to various problems and humiliations even to the extent of being called a *Shudra*. No Prince could have tolerated this, and thus it had a great impact on Shri Shahu's life. He even planned to establish an "Independent Research Institute in Ethnography on ancient points and methods of classification of the Hindu races." In this connection he applied to the Secretary, Council of Postgraduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University, in November 1919. He was greatly interested " in finding the following :

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32 Maclane, John R. (ed.) *The Political Awakening in India*, London, 1970, pp. 1-2.

33 Narasimhan, V. K. *Kamaraj : A Study*, Bombay, 1967, p. 13.

1. Proofs from the *Shastras* to say that the caste system in its present form is not sanctioned by the *Shastras*;

2. Evils and hardships arising from the caste system in its present form...

3. Duties of different castes according to *Shastras*, and the effects of non-observance of these duties;

4. Reasons laid down in the *Shastras* that lead to loss of caste;

5. If *Manu* is regarded as an authority in matters of inheritance, adoption and so on, why not regard him as an authority in matters of caste also;

6. Objectionable passages from the *Puranas* etc. that give wrong direction in matters of religion and morality and so on."[34]

Under the Brahminical repression, Shri Shahu left no stone unturned to see that he should bring solace to the non-Brahmin communities. He under the heavy attacks of the Brahmins, decided that if he advocated the cause of non-Brahmins, they needed a religion of their own. He stated : " I want to break it by introducing Satya Shodhak Samaj and Arya Samaj. The former has got a solid foundation in *Vedas*. I am thinking of teaching *Vedas* to other castes meaning to say that, that is *their* religion which the Brahmins do not like at all."[35] " He wanted to work out the aims of Satya Shodhak Samaj by introducing the other Samajas which could preach the society other than the Brahmins"[36] and what the Satya Shodhak Samaj lacked was a religious base. Hence Shri Shahu had shown a great inclination towards the Arya Samaj. Some of the most experienced and enlightened of of the ruling chiefs showed livelier appreciation of the subversive tendencies of Indian unrest than that shown by those responsible for the governance of the British India. "Some of them like the Maharaja of Kolhapur and the Maharaja of Patiala have been brought face to face with the same violent and even the same criminal methods of agitation as the government of India has had to deal with in Provinces under the British administration."[37]

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34 K. R. O. Shahu's letter to the Secretary, Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts Calcutta University, dt. 20th Nov. 1919 ( File 1919. ) **Appendix No. 6 (a) and 6 (b).**

35 K. R. O. Shahu's letter to Col. Wodehouse, File 1918, Letters No. 7016, 7017, both dated 19th Jan. 1918. **Appendix 16.**

36 K. R. O. Shahu's letter to Col. Wodehouse, File No. 34, L. No. 9, dated 19th Feb. 1919 **Appendix No. 13.**

37 Chirol Valentine, *Indian unrest*, Macmillan, Bombay 1910, p. 190.

Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur made vast progress " superior to the British India in material prosperity, in education, in the encouragement of industrial development and in respect of separation of the Judiciary from the Executive functions"[38]. The influence of Shri Shahu grew to such an extent that Kolhapur became the ideological epicentre of the non-Brahmin movement,which enabled the seeds of the ideology to spread to the whole of South India. " Till the end of his life His Highness continued founding and endowing new schools and most important of all hostels in order to extend the benefits of higher education to those who hitherto had possessed little desire or power to seek them. The special value of such hostels is now recognized by all educational authorities in India; but in no city throughout the continent has the system been developed to the same extent as in Kolhapur or with the same success in supplementing the lack of religious teaching in the schools."[39] Even this hostel movement had its influence in Madras city. On the same lines Shri Shahu organised the non-Brahmin movement : " C. Natesa Mudaliar, a Vellala Medical student who was the secretary of the *Madras Dravidian Association*, began gathering funds for the establishment of a hostel in Madras city for the Non-Brahmin youths and colleges. The establishment of the *Dravidian Association* hostel in June, 1916, was the first practial step of a small but important group of non-Brahmans in Madras to organize themselves."[40] "By 1920 separate hostels had been started in the Maharaja's small capital for no fewer than eleven different sections of the community including the Indian Christians and the so-called untouchables. All his reform work and his mission extended itself beyond Kolhapur and not merely to the Marathas, in the caste sense of the term."[41]

Shri Shahu Maharaja could not remain aloof from the most vital and urgent social problem. Shri Shahu came be known as " A Prince among social reformers and a social reformer among Princes. Shri Shahu was entitled to be heard on all questions relating to the reform of the social fabric of Indian people."[42] " The most vital and urgent social problem in Bombay, in Southern India or elsewhere was the uplift of the depressed classes, the untouchables who form the masses of the people in India."[43] It was his efforts in this direction that made him active not only in his Native

38 The Modern Review : Feb. 1916, Article, Self-Rule in Indian States, p. 239.
39 Latthe, A. B..... Vol. I., page VI.
40 Irschick. F. Eugene " *Politics and Social Conflict in South India,* Oxford, 1975, p. 45.
41 Latthe, A. B..... Vol. I, p. VI.
42 *United India and Indian States*-Madras, dt. 23rd June 1920. No. 24 p. 362.
43 *The Modern Review*, Jan. 1916 Article, "The Indian Theistic Movement," Presidential Address by Hon. Dr. Nip Rathan Sircar. Jan. 1916, p. 57.

State but also in the Northern and Southern India. It was from 1913 that he started developing contacts.

A cursory glance through the *Shahu Daftar* gives an idea of Shahu's widening influence and of the *modus operandi* through which Shri Shahu planned to achieve the goal. There can be no doubt that it was his dynamic personality and grim determination to eradicate the caste system that made him enjoy a towering position among all the Native Princes. This can be conclusively ascertained from his vast correspondence with other States in India, which helps us in getting a clear picture of the "**Non-Brahmin Movement**" influencing many social, economic, political or religious activities under his dynamic leadership.

Shri Shahu, with his determination to save the masses, the indigenous Indian culture and tradition, contributed his mite by opening to them the portals of hope and comfort. For him no form of religion had any life-value; because it failed to yield a living inspiration for social service, especially the service of the lowly and the overburdened, the afflicted and the downtrodden, the depressed and the fallen. He thought that a religion must inspire one to go out among the depressed classes with love for humanity and a sense of service. "His Highness himself freely mixed with the labour class and merchants which very few princes did."[44] It was with this grave concern for the depressed classes that he approached the Montford Reforms Commission and advocated for communal representation. Jotiba Phule was the pioneer in modern times of the movement calculated to improve the condition and to secure social equality to the untouchable and unapproachable classes. "Next to him came Maharshi V. R. Shinde, the twentieth century torch-bearer of Phule spirit who started a movement by estabtishing the Depressed Class Mission in Bombay."[45] Further, when Montford Reforms were to be introduced even this "Mission had consulted His Highness for his advice. This office was also in touch with the Gujarat Untouchables."[46]

Shri Shahu was always sympathetic and generous towards all the non-Brahmin associations and their meetings and conferences. This resulted

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44 K. R. O. Shahu's letter to Mr. Cadell, File 1919 L. No. 10/1, dt. 11. 1. 1919. **Appendix No. 22.**

45 Gurye, G. S. *Caste and Race in India*, Bombay p. 235-26.

46 K. R. O. Letter of : Chhatarsingh Lallji Utaker, Arya Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay-4, Secretary Depressed Classes Mission Office, Charni Road, Bombay } To The Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, dt. 12th Feb. 1920. Refer **Appendix No. 2.**

in his acquiring knowledge of all creeds and castes. His progressive ideas and policies of education-upliftment of depressed classes, scholarships for non-Brahmins-had a nationwide impact. '*The United India and Indian States.*' (Madras) dt. 25th July 1926, wrote an Editorial on Shri Shahu's educational role as follows " the state of Kolhapur recognised the importance of education early enough and year after year, has opened more schools to cope up with the needs. Very recently H. H. Shri Shahu, Maharaja of Kolhapur accorded sanction to the opening of 50 more primary schools in his state. We wish every progressive state advanced the course of primary education at the same pace. "

This educational policy laid down by Shri Shahu had its impact on various social reformers even after Shri Shahu. His Highness Rajaram Maharaj, the heir apparent to Shri Shahu followed the same policy. It was on these lines Karmaveer Bhaurao P. Patil started working for educational efforts in Satara which also contributed to the non-Brahmin cause.

These efforts of Shri Shahu had a profound influence on various other social reformers. One of the major differences between the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and the 'Justice' movement is "the leaders of the Satya Shodhak movement, such as Joytirao Phule, Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaja and Bhaurao Patil, gave a prominent place to education in their programme of activities".[47]

In the realm of non-Brahmin studies, as Shri Shahu's role in the movement remains unnoticed, so is the case with Karmaveer Bhaurao Patil's efforts. I cannot do justice to the importance of Karmaveer Bhaurao Patil's role in this study, because his role in the non-Brahmin movement and his contribution to the educational development are, by themselves a separate study, but a passing reference is unavoidable. Dr. Matthews. V. Anjilvel in his biography on Bhaurao Patil, has tried to bring forth a comparative picture of Karmaveer Bhaurao Patil and Periyar. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker as follows·

" B. P. Patil's, position in Maharashtra might have been something like the position of Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker of Madras State. As Bhaurao Patil is called Karmaveer by his admirers, Ramaswami Naicker is often called Periyar (The Elder). Both of them are extremely popular and influential among the non-Brahmins of their respective areas...Mr. E. V.

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47 Matthew V. Anjilvel. *Bhaurao Patil : an amazing story of leadership and organization in rural education* Satara, 1957, p. 191.

Ramaswami Naicker had been inspired by early non–Brahmin leaders like Dr. Natesa Mudaliar, Dr. T. M. Nair and Sir Thyagaraja Chettiar .
...In the matter of rousing the sentiments of the masses and creating a dislike for the status in the social and religious life of the country, there is much similarity between the former Satya Shodhak Samaj activities of Maharashtra and the non–Brahmin movement of Tamil nadu... ( the Justice movement )"[48]

In this context it may be stated that Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir Thyagaraja Chettiar, Dr. Natesa Mudaliar and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar had all been closely associated with the activities of Shri Shahu. * Refer Foot notes. Dr. Anjilvel V. Mathews perhaps could not realise this fact because the personal contacts between Shri Shahu and the non–Brahmin leaders and organizations which can be understood only after going through the correspondence which Shri Shahu had with the various non–Brahmin leaders and their organizations, in Madras particular and others in the north.

Karmaveer Bhaurao Patil was much influenced by the activities of Shri Shahu. " Bhaurao spent more than a year in Kolhapur, living in the palace, and attended the Rajaram High School. Living in the Maharaja's palace itself for a year or two, as a friend of one of the kinsmen of the Maharaja... he shared the educational zeal of Shahu Maharaja. The Satya Shodhak Samaj's propogation by Shri Shahu was also taken up by Bhaurao Patil in his own way.

"It was into this movement ( Satya–Shodhak Samaj ) that Bhaurao plunged first as prominent public worker, and it was out of this movement that he...grew into a more positive and constructing factor in the life of Bahujan Samaj."[49] Bhaurao Patil thought that the Satya–Shodhak Samaj's message should be delivered to the masses in rural areas. He had his own approach to propogate the cause of the non-Brahmins.

" Bhaurao Patil organised about half a dozen ' tamasha '* teams, and sometimes with one of these teams, sometimes with another, he travelled all through Maharashtra from Belgaum in the south to Nagpur in the north.

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48 *Ibid.* p. 190–191.

* The correspondence between Dr. T. M. Nair., Sir Thyagaraja Chettiar, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar with Shri Shahu point this aspect, Refer Appendex. Nos. 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 39, 42, 43 and 44.

49 *Ibid.* p. 119.

* 'TAMASHA' or 'JALSA' has been a time old institution of social education and popular entertainment in Maharashtra. This in 'Malabar' is known as 'KOOTHU' and TOOLLAL. In Karnatak it is known as 'DASHAVATAR, or 'DOD–ATTA'.

To the vast crowds which used to come to see the tamashas, Bhaurao would speak - when the tamasha was half-way through of the Satya - Shodhak Samaj, of its importance in the awakened life of the masses, and of what the common people would do to assert their own rights, often the tamasha performers would make remarks and sallies at the privileged communities in the course of their prepared and improvised narrations. The very manner in which the tamasha teams maintained themselves added to their effectiveness in stirring the crowds imagination"[50] B. P. Patil with his commendable patience and vision worked hard for the non-Brahmin cause. He became a popular social worker; and it was in the year 1924 he started "Shri Chhatrapati Shahu Boarding House." It was named after the Maharajah of Kolhapur who loved Patil's activities. Shri Chhatrapati Shahu Boarding House had its own unique features in which all the communities lived together in one hostel for a common purpose-that of receiving education.

"The despised untouchable Mang or Mahar lives as a brother on terms of equality with other students here. He is no longer the despised untouchable. The Muslim boy also, lives here and finds it a congenial home. There is no question of 'Hindu-Pani' or Mussalman Pani" here! It is a single indivisible Home. The Christian boy shares the life of his Hindu and Muslim breatheren."[51]

**Caste-wise break up of the students in Chh. Shahu Boarding House in 1944.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mahrattas | .. | 133 |
| Dhangars or Shepherds | .. | 13 |
| Weavers | .. | 7 |
| Tailors | .. | 5 |
| Barbars | .. | 2 |
| Gardeners | .. | 2 |
| Lingayats | .. | 6 |
| Guravs | .. | 3 |
| Sonar | .. | 1 |
| Washermen | .. | 3 |
| Sali | .. | 4 |
| Carpenters | .. | 2 |
| Koli | .. | 3 |
| Brahmin | .. | 5 |
| Baniya | .. | 1 |
| Kumbhar | .. | 7 |

50 *Ibid.* p. 119.

51 The Modern Review, August, 1940. 'Educational Efforts in Satara. by L. N. Rao. P. 218-221.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bhoi | .. | 1 |
| Rajput | .. | 1 |
| DEPRESSED CLASS BOYS | | |
| Mahars | .. | 75 |
| Mangs | .. | 30 |
| Chambhars | .. | 18 |
| Dhor | .. | 4 |
| Ramoshi | .. | 8 |
| Kaikadi (tribals) | .. | 4 |
| Vaddar | .. | 1 |
| Nat | .. | 1 |
| Jains | .. | 17 |
| Christians | .. | 12 |
| Muslims | .. | 14 |
| Others | .. | 6 |
| Total | | 388 |

Not a single servant is employed ! Every bit of work is done by the boys and boys alone. Food is prepared for all the inmates by batches of boys of 15 each day. The hostel movement started by Shri Shahu are never ending in its impact. Though Karmaveer P. Patil had no University education to boast of, he has inherited rich qualities of the Indian peasant at his best. He possessed practical wisdom, good capacity for organisation, a strong will and keen enthusiasm and love for practical nation building work."[52] There are various other reformers who have been influenced by Shri Shahu.

Further it is interesting to note from L. No. R–11312 (K.R.O.) which he writes to Col. Wodehouse on the 19th January 1920, "how he was regarded even by the Mahommedans. It also throws light on his attitude towards and his interest in the education of the backward classes."[53] He was also approached by various other classes. The letter of K. N. Yadav, the Secretary of the *Somavanshi Arya Kshatriya Dnyan Vardhak Samaj*, Gwalior, to him (Shri Shahu) also sheds ample light on his position as a non–Brahmin leader. The backward communities looked upon him as "an able guide to lead them on to enlightenment. It was felt by them that their humble prayers were

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52 Ibid p. 220

53 K. R. O. Letter from Shahu to Col. Wodehouse, L. No. 11312 dt. 19th Jan. 1920. **Appendix No. 3.**

listened by the Almighty God; had fructified and His Highness was granted to them to lead them. Shri Shahu always favoured the young non-Brahmins and encouraged them to further themselves in higher education."[54] He established centres of non-Brahmin movement wherever he visited. He was a moving spirit. In 1920 he presided over the *Arya Samaj Conference* at Bhavanagar, the *Kurmi Kshatriya Conference* at Cawnpore, (Kanpur) the *Maratha Conference* held at Khamgaon, Navasari, Baroda, Delhi, Hubli and other places. He was consulted by many Princes of Native States in Indian matters relating to educational policy or their attitude towards British politics. As stated though a loyal British Prince, he never subordinated the interests of the Indians, sacrificing them at the altar of British rule.

The way he was regarded by the other Native States shows as to how faithful he was to the cause of India as well as to the British rulers. As far as his policy in educational matters is concerned, " His Highness Yuvaraja of Mysore had sent Mr. C. R. Reddy, Inspector General of Education in Mysore, to Kolhapur to study His Highness' progressive State."[55] " His Highness Maharaja Krishnaraja Wadiyar of Mysore...made rapid strides in promoting higher education of women and in ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes. He led a simple life verging almost on austerity."[56] In both aspects-social reforms as well as British policy—he enjoyed a unique position both as a leader of masses and as a reliable Native Prince on whom the Britishers bestowed all colours. " In Travancore also the Brahmin domination had been a great bane as in most other parts of India, where the Brahmins had taken care to be exempted as much as possible from punishment,"[57] " the Maharaja of Travancore was also in close touch with Shri Shahu. His Highness of Travancore appreciated the scheme prepared by Shri Shahu for the proposed Chamber of Princes."[58]

Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were an important factor which enabled Shri Shahu to establish rapport with almost all Native States of India. Shri Shahu had influenced Montague to the extent, when he Montague was asked to resign from the Cabinet in March, 1922, he told the

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54 K. R. O. Letter K. N. Yadav, Dist. Judge, Shivapuri, to Shri Shahu, L. No. 11442 dt. 26th Feb. 1920. from **Appendix No. 1.**

55 K. R. O. Letter from Yuvaraja of Mysore to Shri Shahu, F. No. 26. Lt. No. 3. dt. 23rd Oct. 1919. Refer **Appendix Nos. 7 and 8.**

56 Modern Review. July 1940, p. 251.

57 Gurye, G. S. *Caste and Race in India,* Bombay p. 15.

58 K. R. O. Maharaja of Travancore's drum's letter to Shri Shahu, File No. 25. dt. 27th Oct. 1919. **Appendix No. 27.**

Commons that " as I leave my work, may I say that the fascination of India's problems has Obsessed me all my life – the Princes and the Native States, each with individual characteristics, the peoples of India, awakening, striving, often with ill-defined ideals; so varied in their developments, in their races, in their history, the glorious conception, as I thought it was, and I think it is, of the British Commonwealth of nation. Montague asked for the post of Viceroy of India on three occassions because he thought he was the best qualified person for the job."[59] * Refer Foot Note.* It was he ( Shri Shahu ) who infused new life into the agitation, so much so that Montague and Chelmsford, in their Indian Political Reports, had to grant the demands advocated by Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Shri Shahu was very much influenced, inspired and benefited by the valuable guidance of Lord S. M. Fraser who was Shahu's tutor in Dharwar. Lord S. M. Fraser was considered by Shri Shahu as his Guru. He did not lose his contacts with Shri Shahu who became the ruler of Kolhapur. Lord S. M. Fraser had appreciated his pupils interests in the non-Brahmin movement in which he himself went on guiding him from wherever he went. His correspondence with Shri Shahu " from Mysore, Hyderabad, Trivandrum and from a number of other places from Southern India bear out this fact. Lord S. M. Fraser exibits his interest in the non-Brahmin movement which were of an educative value to Shri Shahu. Moreover, his reference to the '*Deccan Royt*' ( a non-Brahmin journal ) indicates his keen interest in the non-Brahmin cause. Shri Shahu had started this journal with great difficulty Refer App. No. 34. It is this relationship between Lord S. M. Fraser and Shri Shahu that served as a medium to bring the non-Brahmin movement of the entire Southern India into one united

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59 Montague S. Edwin. *An Indian Diary London* 1930. p. 280.

* Foot Note : In politics, in religion, in government employment, and in education, the division between Brahmin and non-Brahmin was quite apparent by the first decade of the twentieth century. Edwin Montague, later to become Secretary of State for India, commented on this when he visited Madras in February, 1913, shortly after the Royal Commission on Public Services held its hearing there concerning the relative strength of Indians in government positions. In his diary he wrote :

One has here as elsewhere among the majority of the educated Indians, a desire for more power. Not I think for more democracy; for, however horrible it may be for an Englishman of my way of thinking to learn, the clever Indian wants executive power and executive opportunity, but he is not a democrat. If he does not believe in caste, he believes in wealth and division, so acute in Northern India, between the Hindu and Mohammedan, is replaced in Southern India by the vital, almost insurroundable, gulf between Brahmin and non-Brahmin.

( Quoted in. S. D. Waley, Edwin Montague, Bombay ) 1964, p. 328.

effort."[60] From the letter of Lord S. M. Fraser, from the Residency of Hyderabad, one can see " on the one hand he appreciates the part being played by Shri Shahu in the Non-Brahmin movement, and on the other, he speaks of the " *Deccan Ryot* ", which also points to his interests in the non-Brahmin cause."[61]

It was Lord S. M. Fraser who wrote the preface to A. B. Latthe's *Memoirs of His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja of Kolhapur.* He writes in the Preface : "His Highness did not confine his efforts to his own territory, always bearing in mind that the Native States and the British Provinces are interwoven parts of one Indian Empire, he did not allow his rank as a Ruling Prince to deter him from presiding over numerous conferences of the backward and depressed classes in and beyond the Bombay Presidency. The record of his life, however, it is safe to assert, contains materials which no historian of the New India, growing up under our eyes, can afford to neglect."[62] The letters of Lord S. M. Fraser and the contents of the Preface make it amply clear that Lord S. M. Fraser's visit to Southern India was related to the shift in British politics towards the spread of the non-Brahmin cause.

Shri Shahu's leadership made the non-Brahmin movement the common cause of both the North and the South. His impact on the movement in the North and the South could be better illustrated from the letters which he had received from Sampatrao Gaikwar, written to Shri Shahu on 19-3-1919 and from the letter of K. N. Yadav, District Judge, Shivapuri. In the letter of Sampatrao Gaikwar he (Shri Shahu) is referred to as a unifying force and it has been explained as to how he combined in himself both loyalty and leadership. It seems that he had consented to preside over the *Kurma Kshatriya Community's Conference* but he was unable to carry out the promise. " Sampatrao Gaikwar stated that his absence would be felt by the

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60 K. R. O. From Lord S. M. Fraser to Shri Shahu Maharaj F. No. 1920. L. No. R-11315 dt. 20th Jan. 1920. **Appendix No. 32.**

K. R. O. From Madivalappa, V. Navalgi to Shri Shahu Maharaj F. No. 1920. L. No. R-11376 dt. 6th Feb. 1920. **Appendix No. 33.**

K. R. O. From Lord S. M. Fraser to Shahu Maharaj. F. No. 19. L. No. 6/1 dt. 20th Dec. 1918 **Appendix No. 34.**

K. R. O. From Lord S. M. Fraser to Shri Shahu Maharaj F. No. L. No. R. 3570 dt 1909. **Appendix No. 35.**

61 K. R. O. From Lord S. M. Fraser to Shahu Maharaj File No. 19. Letter No. 6/1 dated 20th Dec. 1919. **Appendix No. 34.**

62 Latthe, A. B., Preface P. XI-XIII. Vol. I.

people of North,"[63] which indicates his influence in the North. Northern India had always acknowledged Shri Shahu's leadership in the Deccan and this can be pointed out from the letter of K. N. Yadav, District Judge, who felt that the *Karajgar* community should also be blessed by him. Shri Shahu's presence was by itself considered a great impetus to any movement. The movement under his leadership contributed to the rise of various other organisations e. g., the *Somvanshi Aryar Kshatria Dnyan Vardhak Samaj, Gujarati Untouchables Depressed Classes Mission Society, Kurmi Kshatriya Samaj, Maratha Samaj, Mahommedan Samaj, Lingayat Samaj* in Mysore and no doubt the *Madras Dravidian Association.* The leaders in South like P. Tyagaraja Chetti (a Telugu Beri Chetti) and Dr. T. M. Nair of Madras were in touch with Shri Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur. To all these various forces Shri Shahu provided the much needed ballast and he united them all in one single movement : The **Non-Brahmin Movement.**

The Justice Party was established in 1916 as a part and parcel of this movement. From 1913 to 1922, Shri Shahu played a prominent role in organising various organisations for the betterment of the backward and the downtrodden. The Justice party of Madras got organised because of the impact of the huge awakening caused by Shri Shahu in advocating Communal Representation. It was with these influences and the background which developed since Jotiba Phule and the continuation of the same by Shri Shahu the Justice Party was formed in late 1916. Eugene. F. Irschick. points "...anti-Brahman sentiment was not a new phenomenon in Madras. In the 1880's and to an even greater extent in the 1890's, non-Brahmans in many different capacities voiced their concern about the growing number of Brahmans in the public services...even though feeling against Brahmans–and particular against Tamil Brahmans–became a recurrent and ever louder theme, it was not until 1916 that a non–Brahman organization came into existence."[64] It was only on November 20th, 1916, some thirty or so non–Brahman leaders, including Dr. T. M. Nair and Sir Tyagaraja Chetti met at the Victoria Public Hall in Madras city. This meeting is considered as the real beginning of a non-Brahman party. It was on December 20th, 1916, a public announcement was made in the form of **"Non-Brahmin Manifesto"** which was much influenced by the reforms advocated by the Satya Shodhak Samaj under Jotiba Phule and Shri Shahu. The Justice Party in its earlier phase i. e. 1916–1922, had no mass base of which it could claim of; whereas the Satya Shodhak Samaj had a huge following which

63 K. R. O. Letter from Sampatrao Gaikwar of Gwalior to Shri Shahu, F. N. 30. dated 19th March, 1919. **Appendix No. 12.**

64 Eugene F. Irschick–Politics and Social Conflict in South India, Oxford, P. 351.

could influence the British. "The Justice Party began to secure a mass base under active leadership of E. V. R. Naicker and C. N. Annadurai. The latter imbued the party with radical ideals."[64]

A mention also be made here of the article which appeared in "The Illustrated Weekly of India, May 14, 1978, 'Downfall of Brahmins'. This article states as follows. "Brahmin baiting first started in Maharashtra (then part of Bombay presidency) though it found its most virulent expression latter in Tamil Nadu. Also there was this difference : in the former it was spearheaded by Mahatma Phooley (Jotiba Phule) who was a Mali by caste, while in the latter it was organised by the higher non-Brahmin castes. Phooley (Phule) received support from the then Maharaja of Kolhapur (Shri Shahu)."[65] It is to be pointed here that the two movements i. e. Satya Shodhak Samaj under Jotiba Phule and Satya-Shodhak Samaj under Shri Shahu of Kolhapur fall under different periods. After Jotiba Phule's death in (1890), Shri Shahu took up this cause after a good deal of delay. Shri Shahu worked under different circumstances when he took up the non-Brahmin cause. Shri Shahu considered Jotiba Phule as his source of inspiration, he did support Jotiba Phule, but followed the path laid down by Jotiba Phule.

Further the same article points, " in Madras Presidency the anti-Brahmin movement was officially inaugurated with the formation in 1917 of the South Indian Liberal Federation more popularly known as the Justice Party. Its founders were Dr. T. M. Nair, Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar, the Raja of Panangal and Sir P. Thiagaraya Chetty...It is interesting to observe that both in Bombay and Madras Presidencies the non-Brahmin movement was opposed to Home Rule or self government for fear that it would strengthen Brahmin domination. The Non-Brahmin Manifesto of the South Indian People's Association-a forerunner of the Justice Party declared"[66] as follows.

**The Non-Brahmin Manifesto**

"The Non-Brahmin Manifesto was published in the Hindu, in 1916, which mainly pointed out the overwhelming majority of Brahmins in all spheres of political, social, economic and religious life of the community. It proves with necessary statistics that the Brahmins with a negligible fraction

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64 Sagar Ahluwalia. Anna-The Tempest and the Sea. Asia. Delhi, 1969-p. 9.
Published in the Hindu, Dec. 20, 1916.

65 The Illustrated Weekly of India, May, 14. 1978. *Down fall of Brahmins* by R. G .K. p. 18.

66 Ibid, p. 18.

of population in the Madras presidency are far-ahead of other communities in the fields of education, Government services, Legislative councils and Municipal and other services; and enjoy highest power in the social strata. Tied down with old established traditions, other communities are struggling to emerge in the society in spite of numerous obstacles in their path. The manifesto poses a basic important question; why a small class which shows a larger percentage of English-knowing men should be allowed almost to absorb all the government appointments, great and small, high and low, though some of the non-Brahmin communities have produced men of distinguished attainments and unquestioned eminence. The manifesto defines the attitude of important non-Brahmin communities towards " Indian Home Rule Movement ".

It also suggests some important measures to be adopted to equalise all the communities on one single level. It remarks that the future Indian constitution should be broadened and deepened so that representatives of every class, caste and community should be given fiscal freedom and legislative autonomy affecting domestic policy and economic position of India. At the end, this manifesto appeals to the leaders of non-Brahmin communities to create strong public opinion regarding the existing pathetic conditions and provide educational facilities' sponser a well-conducted newspaper as their bulletin and contribute in the " national building " on the ground of self-respect and perfect equality." It was on these lines Shri Shahu worked for the non-Brahmin cause. Almost all his ideas in connection with non-Brahmin upliftment agree with the non-Brahmin Manifesto.

The contents of the non-Brahmin Manifesto, and the correspondence between Shri Shahu and non-Brahmin leaders, vis-a-vis, the relations of these non-Brahmin leaders and the British officials make it amply clear, the extent of Satya Shodak Samajs influence and the service of Shri Shahu to the non-Brahmin cause.

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*Note :* Full text of the Non-Brahmin Manifesto is appended.

# 5 : ORIGIN OF THE JUSTICE PARTY AND THE NON-BRAHMIN REGENERATION.

It has been tried in the earlier part of this work to evaluate the contribution made by Shri Shahu and Shri Jotiba Phule in the furtherance of the non-Brahmin movement. It is, however, not claimed here that the work is complete in itself and full justice has been done to all its facets. The limitation comes in owing to the fact that this particular work concentrates itself more on the establishment of the inter-dependence and inter-linking between the two movements under study, which have been doubted by scholars like Eugene. F. Irschick and P. Spratt. In the foregoing part, it is being tried to study in juxtaposition, the two movements-non-Brahmin movement of Maharashtra and the Justice Party movement of Madras.

There are varied opinions regarding the origins of the ' Justice Party '. It is worthwhile to consider these various views expressed by different persons from time to time, and then establish as to how and when the Justice Party actually originated. It is a question which no student of " **Non-Brahmin Movement** " can afford to ignore. It helps not only to understand the origins of non-Brahmin movement but also to understand the movement scientifically and in the proper perspective.

" The non-Brahmin movement has had to pass through the classical experiences known to history before it may succeed in rivetting attention on its aims. It is unnecessary to go into the historical and ethnical aspects of the

mutual relations that subsisted between the Brahmana and Non-Brahmanas. Suffice to say that there is a body of the country's population, not certainly homogeneous, not perfectly organised, but animated by a common grievance and inspired by a common ambition."[1] Justice Party celebrated its Golden Jubilee in 1968, and on this occasion it published the *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir*. In this *Souvenir* are expressed varied types of opinions which throw light on the origins of the Justice Party. Some of these opinions can be examined here.

In the *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir* various shades of opinions on the coming into being of the Justice Party are expressed. The views of important personalities, scholars-both Indian and foreign-e. g., Eugene F. Irschick, Robert Hardgrave and Philip Spratt are expressed in this *Souvenir*. These opinions can be considered as authoritative ones and the present study relies much upon the opinions expressed in the *Souvenir*. It was planned to interview some personalities in Madras who were connected with the Justice Party but it was also felt that interviews would not serve the purpose of study much because the close associates of Shri Shahu from Madras, like Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar, Raja of Panagal, Sir Ramswami Mudaliar, who were the originators of the Justice Party and close associates of Shri Shahu could have thrown better light on the origins of the Justice Party were not alive. The letter written by Ramswami Mudaliar to Shri Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur (Appendix 44) throws enough light as to what Shri Shahu meant to Madras Presidency. The study in this direction draws its conclusions on the correspondence found in the *Shahu Daftar* and the opinions expressed in Madras on the Justice Party.

Dr. S. Saraswati opines : "The Justice Party had played a notable part during 1920-1935, as the ruling party. It was a political party with 'moderate' political ambitions, with 'realistic' views on socio-political questions and a party with a definite practical programme to carry on the Government of the Province in co-operation with the British rulers. The basic ideologies of the party, which governed its politics while in power, were largely determined during the years of its foundation between 1916 and 1920.

It was a period of serious constitution-making. The British authorities had promised a further step towards responsible and representative government after the war. Several constitutional schemes were proposed by differ-

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1 *New India*, (Madras), B. Pattabhisitaramayya, The Non-Brahmana Movement, August 31, 1917, p. 6.

ent organisations in India. The Home Rule Movement organised by Mrs. Besant became very active in 1915. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League concluded a pact in 1916 and jointly proposed a scheme of Reforms. The Justice Party was born in this political climate to express the views of the non-Brahmin castes in Madras about the Constitutional Reforms. On November 20, 1916, some prominent non-Brahmin leaders including Dr. T. M. Nair an eminent physician, and (later) Sir P. T. Chettiar a prominent industrialist, gathered at a conference in Madras (at the residence of T. Ethiraja Mudaliar-High Court Vakil at Poonamale High Road Madras) resolved to start a company for publishing a newspaper advocating the 'cause of the Non-Brahmin community' and to form a political association to "advance, safeguard and protect the interests of the Non-Brahmin community. A joint stock company was started-known as '*South Indian People's Association*', which published English '*Justice*' and two vernacular dailies '*The Dravidan*' (Tamil) '*Andhra-Prakasika*' (Telugu)."[2] Shri Shahu was a great source of inspiration to start these vernacular dailies in Madras ( Refer App. Nos. 15,18,34,42 and 43.

Another view is that of Gopala Menon who states : "During the middle of the war, Dr. Annie Besant, President of the *Theosophical Society*, started the Home Rule Movement in Madras. This secured a great support of Bal Gangadhar Tilak..."This alliance between Theosophical Society (Madras) and B. G. Tilak of Poona provoked Shri Shahu to become more active in the politics of Madras Presidency. It was Dr. T. M. Nair who faced Mrs. Annie Besant in Madras, and Tilak was opposed by Shri Shahu in Bombay Presidency. The alliance between (Annie Besant and B. G. Tilak) the advocates of the Home Rule Movement resulted in establishing the Justice Party. There was wide spread political agitation in India for securing self-government. ...The active participation of India in Britain's war-efforts created a tremendous change in the outlook between the British rulers and their Indian subjects. Non-Brahmin leaders become conscious of the fact that if they failed to organise themselves and place before the British public realities of the political situation in South India, their cause would go by default. With this object, the *South Indian Liberal Federation*, was inaugurated under the joint leadership of Dr. T. M. Nair and Sir P. T. Chettiar. The leading articles in the Justice were written by Dr. T. M. Nair. They sparked with wit and

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2 "*Justice Golden Jubilee Souvenir*", Madras, 1968, "The Justice Party", 1916-1920. Dr. S. Saraswati, pp. 11-16.

humour and ruthlessly exposed the pretentious claims of the Brahmin community. Dr. T. M. Nair sailed for England to educate British statesmen about the realities of the political situation in South India and to urge the inclusion of the principle of communal representation in any scheme of political reforms. Quite unexpectedly, when he arrived in London, he was served with a 'Gagging order' restraining him from addressing or participating in any public meeting. The question was raised in the House of Lords by Lord Sydenham, a former Governor of Bombay, which eventually led to the withdrawal of the order. Dr. T. M. Nair then addressed the member of Parliament and explained to them that without a provision *for communal representation* the reforms would be a failure"[3]. Shri Shahu was in touch with all these developments when Dr. T. M. Nair was in England, ( Refer. App. No. 21 and 22 )

Further, Philip Spratt in his book, '*D. M. K. in Power*' states : "Dr. T. M. Nair was usually described as the principal leader of the movement in its earlier phase. Dr. T. M. Nair practised in Madras city, and was one of the most respected figures in public life in the presidency. He attended Congress sessions from the 1890's, and took active part in them. In 1916 he expected himself to be elected by the Madras Legislative Council to the Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi, but in the event two Brahmins, B. N. Sarma and V. S. Srinivas Sastri (Refer also Foot note*) were elected. This incident provided the immediate impetus to the formation of non-Brahmin political party. In 1916 these leaders with Dr. P. T. Chettiar, established the '*South Indian People's Association*'. Finally in August 1917, they set up the '*South Indian Liberal Federation*', which later came unofficially to be called the Justice Party."[4]

Eugene F. Irschick states : "on November 20, 1916, some thirty or so Non-Brahmin leaders, including Dr. Nair and Tyagaraja Chetti, met at the Victoria Public Hall in Madras city. This meeting can be considered as the real beginning of a non-Brahmin Party, although the decision that night was simply to form a Joint Stock Company, to be called the *South Indian*

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3 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir* (Madras), 1968, "Non-Brahmin Movement and the Justice Party", Gopal Menon.

4 Spratt, P., *D. M. K. in Power*, Nachiketa, Bombay, 1970, p. 14.
*Note :* How worried and careful Shri Shahu was to maintain cordiality in his relations with Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir Ramaswami Mudliar and how high a position he held in this struggle is amply illustrated by a letter that Shri Shahu wrote to Sir Ramaswami Mudliar. Refer **Appendix No. 17.**

*People's Association Ltd.*, for the purpose of publishing English, Telugu and Tamil newspapers to voice non-Brahmin grievances. At first, the new party had little organizational cohesion or direction, but as Dr. T. M. Nair pointed out a few days after the initial meeting, non-Brahmins had never before united for corporate action. Only by working together would they ever take their 'proper place' in the Government of the country. He urged a policy of non-violence, with leadership in the hands of the landed aristocracy."[5]

While examining the various shades of opinions regarding the origins of the Justice Party it is to be realised that no party can be established at a single stroke or without a particular background. An examination of the background as to the origins of the Justice Party points to the fact that it is like an iceberg whose greater portion is hidden. It is only when we are able to bring out the hidden part that better light can be thrown on the origins of the Justice Party. From the views mentioned in the foregoing part one thing is well established and that is Dr. T. M. Nair and Sri P. T. Chettiar were the principal leaders in starting the *' South Indian People's Association'*. It is interesting to note that these principal leaders of the Justice Party had been much influenced and inspired by Shri Shahu of Kolhapur and even his heir apparent H. H. Shri Rajaram, the next Maharaj of Kolhapur, who followed the glorious path of his father. Shri Shahu was well known for his active support to the non–Brahmin cause all over the country. This aspect will be dealt with later. Shri Shahu never made a difference between Bombay Presidency and Madras Presidency as far as this cause was concerned. "The fact is that 'Maratha Education Fund' in Madras Presidency was established as early as 1912 by Rao Saheb Pingle Ramchandra Rao at the instance of Shri Shahu."[6]

Shri Shahu's efforts in spreading and extending support to the non–Brahmin cause outside his native state were at its heale from 1913 onwards. Shri Shahu was closely associated with Lord Sydenham when he served as Governor of Bombay Presidency and also with Lord Willingdon, another Governor of Bombay Presidency, both of whom were later transferred to Madras Presidency. Thus the British policy and politics also, in a way brought the non–Brahmin leaders of Bombay and Madras Presidencies closer to each other.

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5 Eugene F. Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*, pp. 47-48.

6 *The Hindu* ( Madras ), 'Maratha Education Fund', Silver Jubilee Celebration dated April, 6, 1937.

In this connection, the correspondence between Shri Shahu and Colonel Wodehouse ( Appendix 21 ) throws much light on the close but behind the curtain relations between Dr. T. M. Nair, Lord Sydenham and Shri Shahu Maharaj. In the letters (Appendices 21 and 22) it is stated that when Dr. Nair returned from England, H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj called on him, and learned regarding the various developments in England. Shri Shahu Maharaj also points to Col. Wodehouse regarding his association with Lord Sydenham and refers to the unanimity of purpose (between Dr. T. M. Nair, Lord Sydenham and Shri Shahu) and states "learning from different sources that if the despotic Brahmin bureaucracy of India does not allow communal representation, Lord Sydenham, Lord Curzon and others will see that the Bill does not stand in the Parliament."[7]

In another letter with the same contents, Shri Shahu informs Mr. Cadell regarding his meeting with Dr. T. M. Nair and points to "the keenness of Lord Sydenham on giving Communal Representation and further refers to the invitation extended by him Shri Shahu to Dr. T. M. Nair to visit places like Belgaum, Dharwar and Kolhapur to canvass for Communal Representation."[8] It was Lord Sydenham as a close associate of Shri Shahu and his close acquaintance with India, and especially with Bombay,[9] that "helped Dr. T.M. Nair to be saved from the "gagging order" in England as mentioned earlier."[10]

Lord Sydenham's association with Shri Shahu while he was Governor of Bombay Presidency, helped him in assessing the importance of the non-Brahmin cause, and made him see "the fallacy of applying the Western principles of equality to the priest-ridden and caste-divided illiterate millions of India. The Deccan has been for centuries groaning under the tyranny of the Brahmin priest who had seized supremacy in every way--in religious as well as secular matters, commerce, education banking and so on. The masses of the country are not, therefore, free agents and unless special precautions are taken to safeguard their interests they are sure to fall an easy prey to the tyranny of their Brahmin masters. Communal representation is the only way for safeguarding their interests in the provincial and imperial councils."[11]

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7 K. R. O., File No. 19, L. No. 1/5, **Appendix 21.**

8 K. R. O., File No. 1919, L. No. 10/1, **Appendix 22.**

9 *Memorandum submitted to Lord Sydenham by H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur,* September 1918, **Appendix 41.**

10 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir,* "Non-Brahmin Movement and Justice Party", 1968, Gopal Menon.

11 *Memorandum submitted to Lord Sydenham by H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur,* September 1938, **Appendix 41.**

The two organisations–the Satya–Shodhak Samaj and the Justice Party thus were integrated, and Shri Shahu was in close touch with the Justice Party and the leaders of non–Brahmin movement of Madras.

Lord Sydenham had attended and presided over many conferences which took place under the leadership of Shri Shahu Maharaj and these had in turn lead Lord Sydenham to firmly believe that "Independence with caste system would be meaningless."[12] Since 1913 Shri Shahu Maharaj strove to create "a large volume of public opinion in South India, and there was wide-spread political agitation in India for securing self–government. The non–Brahmin leaders became conscious of the fact that if they failed to organise themselves and place before the British the public realities of the political situation in South India, their case would go by default. With this object the *South Indian Liberal Federation* was inaugurated under the joint leadership of Dr. T. M. Nair and Sir. P. T. Chettiar."[13]

To understand the *modus operandi* of Shri Shahu Maharaj in bringing about such an awareness in Southern India, it is necessary to analyse some of the speeches delivered by him at various conferences. Shri Bhaghwan Rao Babu Saheb Jadhav, has published these speeches under the title " *Rajarshi Shahu Maharajanchi Bhashene"* (in Marathi), which also mention the various center's Shri Shahu visited, carrying his reform spirit to the desperate and the downtrodden sections of the society.

In his presidential speech deliverd on 27th December, 1917, at the *Eleventh All India Maratha Education Conference* at Khamgaon, he explained clearly the meaning of patriotism. He identified Home Rule with education and he replied to the extremist forces, who criticised him as anti-nationalist. He declared in his speech that he also stood for Swaraj. "We want Swaraj, and we are also using our energies in that direction. British education itself has taught us the meaning of freedom, but I agree with Lord Sydenham who states that independence with caste system would be meaning-less, and we fear that under Swaraj, the whole power would be vested in the hands of the upper castes. Shri Shahu also referred to the example of Japan as to how they got rid of the caste system. He felt that the earlier the society gets rid of the caste system the better for achieving Home Rule"[14] "On 10th November, 1918, Shri Shahu Maharaj addressed the labourers

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12 Jadhav B. B., *Rajashri Shahu Maharajanche Bhashene*, Kolhapur, 1971, pp. 5-10.

13 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir,* 1968, 'Non-Brahmin Movement and the Justice Party, Gopal Menon.

14 Jadhav B. B., *Rajarshi Shahu Maharajanche Bhashene*, Kolhapur, 1971, pp. 5–10.

of Bombay in Parel. In this speech he advocated for ' Labour Unions and criticised capitalism"[15] He was also a great socialist in mind, and in his own Native State he had established co-operative credit societies to help the agriculturists.

Shri Shahu was also in touch with the Lingayat community of Mysore State. Suffering under the Brahmin bureaucracy, the masses in Mysore State had also been subjected to various difficulties. Under the powerful influence of Brahmins, the British administrators in Karnataka had been persistently refusing the Lingayats the practice of parading *'Vyasantol'** for nearly a century.

> " Under these circumstances, the Maharaj was approached for permission for the ' *Vyasantol* ' *parade in connection with the procession of the high priest or the Jagadguru ( Pontiff ) of the Lingayats who had his headquarters in Mysore State. H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj allowed the parade which to the great joy of the community in Karnataka was held with due pomp as early as May 12, 1911, in Kolhapur city. As this took place in Kolhapur, the authorities in Belgaum also changed their view and allowed the ' *Vyasantol* ' processions in several places like Athani, Munoli, Yagathi and others."[16]

These contacts of Shri Shahu with the Lingayats in Mysore further resulted in July 1920, " when the leaders of the non-Brahmin Movement in Karnataka like Rao Bahadur Kambli, Gavai, Menshinkai, invited him to preside over the non-Brahmin conference held in Hubli when a huge procession was held in honour of Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur."[17] It may be noted here that Sir. P. T. Chettiar was present on this occasion. "Shri

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15 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

*'*Vyasantol*' is a Kannada phrase which has a story behind it. The legend has it that sage Vyasa after writing ten chapters of *Skanda Purana* in praise of his personal deity Lord Vishnu, declared from the protals of Kasi Visveswara temple that Lord Vishnu alone is superior to all Gods. No sooner he made this declaration his right hand with which he had written the chapters of *Skanda Purana* got out off and fell to ground on its own. Realising his folly in undermining Lord Siva, he wrote with his left hand the remaining chapters of *Skanda Purana* stating that Siva is the greatest among all Gods. With the grace of Lord Siva his right hand which was out off, developed and he got it back. After this incident the Jagadgurus of Pancha Peethas of the five seats of the Veerasaivas ( Lingayats]) began demonstrating the right hand of Vyas ( *Vyasantol* ) by tying it to their palanquin as a warning to the detractors of Siva. A detailed narration of this is found in chapters 11 to 18 of the *Skanda Purana*
( Revealed to me in an interview with the Swamiji of Nargund ).

16 Latthe A. B., *Memoirs of Shri Shahu* Vol. II, pp. 354–55.

17 Jadhav B. B., *op. cit.*, (Refer for the details) pp. 101-110.

Shahu, at the outset, acknowledged with gratitude the presence of the non-Brahmin leader of Madras. Shri Shahu in his speech at Hubli, stated that in the absence of Western education, the Brahmin hold over the caste system would have tamed our castes like dogs and cats."[18] H.H. Shri Shahu Maharaj here commends Mahabharata also.

Further, these were the years of most intense non-Brahmin activity throughout Southern India, and the Maharaj of Kolhapur and its leader left no corner untouched. The leaders of the non-Brahmin movement of any part could not work in isolation either because, "Dr. Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak joined hands in launching the Home Rule Movement,"[19] and Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur was opposed to the terrorist extremist leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak. So Shri Shahu Maharaj repudiated these forces and consolidated the non-Brahmin movement under his leadership. His utmost dislike towards the Brahmins was not different from his dislike for the extremists everywhere. Shri Shahu's views regarding the extremist activities have been already mentioned. They may also be inferred from the various letters. They also point to the attitude of Shri Shahu towards the various communities ( non-Brahmins ) which he termed as *Bahujan-Samaj* meaning majority of people who were non-Brahmins. Besides, Shri Shahu's movement followed the lines of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' of Jotiba Phule. This movement was also known as '**Brahmanetar Chalwal**' which implies a movement of the masses i. e., of all people except the Brahmins a movement which cannot be termed as anti-Brahmin movement, because it was social reform oriented. Though critics interpret at times that it was an anti-Brahmin movement, to clarify that it was not so, the term '**Bahujan-Samaj**' was used which indicates that it was a movement of the masses. There is ample correspondence available to prove this.

In his letter to Col. Wodehouse of 19th February, 1919, Shri Shahu points to the Brahmin hold in religious and educational fields and he expresses his dislike regarding the extremists and also his views on the 'Kesari' the newspaper of Tilak, which was always coming in the way of Shri Shahu Maharaj."[20] Shri Shahu was also known to be supporting institutions, press, and the organisations which were against Tilakite views. In his letter to Mr. Robertson, dated 19th February, 1918, he points

18 *Ibid.* p. p. 101-110

19 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, "Non-Brahmin Movement and the Justice Party, Gopal, Menon.

20 K. R. O. H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj's letter to Wodehouse, dated 19th February, 1910, **Appendix 13.**

to the mischievous role which the Brahmins had resolved to play. He had passed many rules to face them by which the 'Brahmin Kulkarni' had lost his supremacy in the villages. "In this letter Shri Shahu Maharaj also points as to how extremist newspapers had seen to it that non-Brahmin newspapers collapsed and he expresses a desire to help it up."[21] It was this political cry and the conflict between the extremist Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Shri Shahu which made him to go even beyond his Native State to create a political awareness in favour of communal representation and hence "the basic ideologies of the Justice Party, which governed its policies while in power, were largely determined during the years of its foundation between 1916 and 1920."[22] "The unifying feature of the peninsular Non-Brahmin Movement was the dislike of; if not hatred, the Brahmin."[23] Shri Shahu was against caste, but was not communal. To the leaders of the different communities, he said "I have only one message to convey. Do not be short-sighted. Have a vision of the future. To dissolve castes is a necessity. To uphold them is a sin. Castes are obstacles in the path of the common advancement of all of us and our duty, therefore, is to remove it with all the courage we can muster. Hold your caste-meetings, but ignore not the point that they are only a means to end the caste. Let not then your caste-meetings help to mend the castes."[24]

Shri Shahu true to his outlook, was admired by one and all. Working for the cause of non-Brahmins he was in close touch with the non-Brahmin leaders of Madras, and he was also a guide and philosopher of the Justice Party. Leaders of Justice Party and Shri Shahu were close associates and had always exchanged their views, (Letter No. 1/5 File No. 19, K. R. O.) **Appendices** 21 and 23 speak for the close association of the non-Brahmin leaders of Madras and Shri Shahu of Kolhapur. As has already been pointed out though these were two Presidencies (Madras and Bombay) the administration was of the same type and the socio-economic problems had all similarities. In both these Presidencies the Brahmin had a great hold on the society. Lord Sydenham worked in between the two movements in the early 1900's. In this letter it is clearly pointed out as to how efforts were being made by Lord Sydenham and Lord Curzon and others who would see that the Bill does not

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21 K. R. O., File No. 1918, L. No. R. 7144, dated 19th February, 1918, Shahu's letter to Robertson and Mr. Vincent-(7143), **Appendix 15.**

22 *Justice Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, "The Justice Party (1916-1920)", by Dr. S. Saraswati.

23 Srinivas M. N., *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*, Asia, Bombay, 1970, p. 22.

24 Latthe A. S., *Memoirs of Shri Shahu* p. 470.

stand in the Parliament which was influenced by the despotic Brahmin bureaucracy who wish that communal re-presentation would not be allowed."[25] From this letter it can also be inferred that Shri Shahu and Dr. T. M. Nair were no less good friends, and the establishment of the Justice Party " by a small influential group of men maintained all-India perspectives. They also were trying to connect Madras public life with that of Bengal, Bombay and the rest of British India."[26] It is in this context that Eugene F. Irschick and other scholars have failed to note and appreciate the background to the rise of the Justice Party. When the Justice Party was established in 1916, an all-India perspective was already provided by Shri Shahu of Kolhapur, through his non-Brahmin movement, and he was already in touch with the non-Brahmin leaders like " B. A. Gupte of Bengal Presidency, who was propagating non-Brahmin ideals by helping Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur in establishing an ethnographical institute."[27]

Shri Shahu was already acknowledged as the leader of the non-Brahmin movement in India. Of course the non-Brahmin movement of Madras was also the result of the conflict in the form of social rivalry that was already there between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins. But all the social and political thoughts on which the Justice Party worked and framed its basic ideologies between 1916-1920 agree with the thoughts of Satya Shodhak Samaj and Shri Shahu. The rise of the Justice Party " was explicitly so to the Home Rule Movement and was established within a few days of the announcement by Montagu in the House of Commons."[28] The non-Brahmin movements in Madras and Bombay worked in collaboration with each other. Dr. T. M. Nair and Shri Shahu moved together and inspired the non-Brahmin movement in Madras Presidency. Shri Shahu perhaps remained behind the curtain, saving himself from the critics' eyes as he was against publicity. "The relation between these two kindred spirits based on community of nature and principles resulted in endowing a Memorial Scholarship by Shri Shahu in the name of Dr. T. M. Nair. This token of his admiration for the Madras leader testifies, in that presidency, to the solid unity of purpose between the two sections of the Deccan."[29] Shri Shahu Maharaj was in constant touch with the Madras affairs, either through his visits, or through his pleaders in the

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25 K. R. O., File No. 19, L. No. 1/5, **Appendix 21.**
26 Eugene F. Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India Oxford.* p. 2.
27 K. R. O., File No. 27, ( 1919), letter of B. A. Gupte to Dewan of Kolhapur, **Appendix 5.**
28 Spratt P., *D. M. K. in Power*, Bombay, 1970, p. 20.
29 Latthe A. B., *Memoirs of Shri Shahu* Vol. II, p. 580.

Tanjore case pending in Madras High Court, or through his friends like Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir. P. T. Chettiar and Sir. A. Ramswami Mudaliar.

Further, it can be stated that there is a lack of reference to indicate the links between the non-Brahmin movement of Bombay, and the Justice movement of Madras. But this does not mean that Shri Shahu left Madras un-represented when he advocated for communal representation. During the Delhi Conference, the Dewan of Kolhapur Sir. Chitnis and Dr. T. M. Nair were put-up together in Chandani Chowk Delhi."[30] Shri Shahu had travelled extensively in order to understand the existing social conditions. " In 1891, he visited Bijapur, Hyderabad, Madras, Pondichery, Tanjore, Tuticorin, Colombo, Candy and Newara Eliya. On his way back he paid a visit to the two principal cities of Mysore state-Bangalore and Mysore, and when he visited Madras, Shri Shahu found a contrast in Madras regarding the social conditions in Bombay and Calcutta."[31] " Shri Shahu Maharaj paid a visit to Madras in January 1921. He was a close friend of Lord Willingdon, who was transferred from Bombay to Madras Presidency. Shri Shahu Maharaj was the guest of Lord Willingdon."[32] When Lord Willingdon was transferred to Madras "H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj had used all his efforts to get the transfer order of Lord Willingdon as Governor of Madras cancelled. In the same context it can be further stated that on 12th November, 1917, Shri Shahu, besides pressing for communal representation when he met Montagu, also appreciated the services of Lord Willingdon, and Shri Shahu "thought that no Viceroy or Governor such as Lord Willingdon ought to be moved during war."[33] Even then Lord Willingdon was transferred to Madras Presidency. This once again helped to spread Shri Shahu's influence in Madras Presidency in all directions and spheres, with the Princes, with the leaders and with the Governor of Madras Presidency himself who also blessed the Justice Party of Madras.

**Implications of the Transfer of Governors**

Governor Lord Willingdon's transfer from Bombay to Madras Presidency has some relevance to the present study.

Its implications are two fold :

a) To check the growing importance of non-Brahmin movement

30 K. R. O.' File No. 18 at 29-10-1918, ( Refer Telegram copy ), **Appendix 23.**
31 Latthe A. B., *Memoirs of Shri Shahu*, Vol. I, p. 64.
32 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 594.
33 Edwin S. Montagu, *Indian Diary*, William Heinemann, London, 1930, p. 23. and also refer K. R. O. Letter from Lord Chelmsford to Shri Shahu F. No. 19 L. No.11/1 **Appendix 31.**

under the leadership of Shri Shahu which had gained much strength compared to the Nationalist Movement.

b) Lord Willingdon's services were required more to play Brahmins against non-Brahmins in Madras Presidency rather than in Bombay Presidency.

The non-Brahmin movement during 1916-1918, had made a great impact on the British politics. The unity in the movement which had spread all over the south by now, and almost all non-Brahmin leaders uniting amongst themselves posed another threat to British stability and continuity. Perhaps Muslim politics also has its strength drawn from the Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict which would weaken the non-Brahmins ( this is another aspect of British politics). The non-Brahmin movement which was established in a small way by Jotiba Phule developed itself to strength and solidarity with the invigourating role of Shri Shahu in course of time. No wonder the movement came to be considered as having greater homogeneity and cohesion than even the Nationalist Movement. As a matter of fact Shri Shahu's hold over the non-Brahmin movement was stronger compared to the Nationalist leadership during 1916-1920. The movement could have certainly become a strong anti-British movement, had Shri Shahu been allowed to grow in strength and influence. The transfer of Lord Willingdon precisely at this juncture to Madras Presidency in 1918, is therefore, full of significance. In view of the intimacy between Lord Willingdon and Shri Shahu and also in view of Lord Willingdon's known sympathy to the non-Brahmin cause, this particular transfer had important political implications which cannot be ignored in this context.

In the second place it can be pointed out that. during the interview that Shri Shahu and Dr. T. M. Nair had with Lord Montagu, Shri Shahu appreciated, rather eulogised the services of Lord Willingdon, whereas Dr. T. M. Nair expressed his dissatisfaction with the role of Lord Hardinge the then Governor of Madras Presidency. This only meant that Lord Willingdon's services as a renowned parliamentarian in the Bombay Presidency were badly needed in Madras Presidency. It can be fairly concluded that, what seems to be a routine transfer for administrative reasons had been politically motivated, and expected to influence the politics of the Presidency concerned, particularly the non-Brahmin politics.

" Madras was lucky then to have Lord Willingdon as the Governor. The Governor could have selected any three men of the party as Ministers but he did not do so. Being wellversed in Parliamentary practice, he called Sir. P. T. Chettiar to form the ministry. Sir. P. T. Chettiar declined the honour. This convention of calling upon the leader of the majority party to form the ministry has been followed since then. Then M. A. Subbarayallu Reddiar formed the first ministry with Raja Ramarayanigar, who later became Raja of Pangal, and Mr. K. V. Reddi as his colleagues."[34]

Further even Raja of Pangal had been closely associated with Shri Shahu and he was present at Nasik on April 15, 1920 when Shri Shahu had presided over the *Backward Class Conference* which had impressed Raja of Pangal, the Minister of Madras very much. "The Raja of Pangal described the speech of Shri Shahu as an 'epoch-making speech'. He also stated that he was getting it reprinted from the columns of the '*Justice*' for circulation, and also thought of getting it translated into Telugu for publication, so that even the Telugu-knowing non-Brahmins may have access to its inspiring contents."[35] " The legislative measures introduced in the Madras council by the Non-Brahmin Minister there, the Raja of Pangal is based on the same principles as guided by the Maharaj of Kolhapur in the policy he had laid down in this respect. He ( Raja of Pangal ) had been carefully studying the administration of these charities in his state ever since he came to power."[36] Shri Shahu was himself a great force, and under his influence the non-Brahmin movement had different phases in different regions. In Andhra the non-Brahmin movement was not without its effects. The non-Brahmin reforms did influence the thoughts of Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu. " His writings and sacrifices focussed the attention of the society on the plight of child-widows, and urged widow remarriage. The literature '*Shatakas of Janapati Kamasastra*' (1855-1915) are full of odium against the evils of caste hierarchy in the society."[37] Viresalingam Pantulu also helped the advancement of education, the maintenance and upbringing of orphans etc. He was known as '*Vidya Sagar*' of the

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34 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, 1968, Welcome Address by P. T. Rajan, p. XVIII.
35 Latthe A. B., *Memoirs of Shri Shahu*, Vol. II, p. 596.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 451.
37 Sen S. P., (Ed.) *Studies in Modern History*, Calcutta, 1969, p. 111.
38 *The Modern Review*, July, 1916 (Notes), p. 91.

South for his life long and strenuous efforts for social purity."[38] The non-Brahmin movement in Andhra, though was very much influenced by the Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict, the Telugu Brahmins of Andhra may have escaped the experiences of the Tamil Brahmins of Madras by joining the other castes in protest movement against 'Tamil domination'. Besides "the Telugu Brahmins were less concerned with pollution and more willing to attend ceremonies of other castes."[39] (Refer Foot Note) *

No movement had such a wide influence as that of the non-Brahmin movement under the leadership of Shri Shahu. He, as a leader of the non-Brahmin movement, reached such a status that whenever something went wrong with a Brahmin, Shri Shahu was blamed for it. " In one of the issues of the '*Justice*' at Madras there appeared an article against Mr. Shastri, and abused H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj for the same."[40] Shri Shahu's popularity in the cause of education of non-Brahmins was not unknown to Madras publications because of which he was appreciated and also criticised in both the Presidencies. '*The United India and Indian States*' Madras had published an editorial "A Maharaj on the Reform of Caste", which was based on a speech delivered by Shri Shahu the president of the *All-India Depressed Classes Conference* at Nagpur. In this speech Shri Shahu Maharaj pointed out, "facts of history carry their significance to us today if we only think about it, it was the neglect of such lessons in the past which must account for the present political position of India. Shri Shahu Maharaj condemned the absurd doctrine that the Brahmin is the living god. Further, Shri

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39 Carolyn Elliot, *Castes and Faction in Andhra Pradesh,* Association for Asian Studies, New York, April, 4-6,1966, p. 9 :-

Mysore and Andhra have not been immune to anti-Brahminism but it has been much less virulent and politically less significant than that formed in Madras and Maharashtra. Kerala has not experienced much anti-Brahminism either; but this may be partly because of the links of blood and kinship that unite Nairs and Namboodri Brahmans; and in part because of strong Brahmans of Andhra may have escaped the experience of the Tamil Brahmans of Madras, because of the history of the Telugu linguistic area. Andhra became aware of a distinct original identity that differentiated her from Tamil and with which she shared a single political identity in the Presidency of Madras-earlier in the twentieth century. Telugu Brahmans were able to join with other Andhra castes in protest against 'Tamil domination', which turned out, incidentally to be mostly Tamil Brahman domination at a time when the Brahman-Non-Brahman conflict was joined in Madras. But it is also true that Indian and English observers at the beginning of this century, in contrasting Madras and Andhra note that Telugu "Brahmans were less conceived with the pollution and more willing to attend ceremonies of other castes".

Rudolph and Rudolph, "*The Modernity of Tradition Political Development in India*", Orient. Bombay, 1969. ff. pp. 78-79.

40 K. R. O., File No. 20 (1918-1922). "Shahu to Ramswami Mudaliar", **Appendix 17.**

Shahu pointed out that there are Hindu states like Travancore and Cochin where a Brahmin murderer cannot be hanged though the Penal Code of their states is a faithful re-edition of the British Criminal Law. He also further refers to the whole social outlook which had undergone notable change, because of notable Hindus like the late Dr. T. M. Nair, who exposed the cruelty, the inhumanity and the folly of caste in its 'untouchable' aspects."[41] Shri Shahu in this speech also refers to states like Travancore and Cochin, which certainly point to the consolidated nature of the " **The non-Brahmin movement** ".

Besides these contacts of Shri Shahu in Madras and elsewhere, his non-Brahmin lieutenants like Rao-Bahadur Sabnis, Mr. A. B. Latthe, Mr. Prabhavalkar and others had always tried to work with a sense of unity for the cause of non-Brahmins with the Justicites. They constantly visited various places and acquainted themselves with the activities of the extremists, throughout Southern India. "They had visited Bangalore and Melakote, when they had been there to see Mr. Setlur-the best authority on Hindu Law, to consult him in the Jagadguru matter. They also expressed a desire to see Dr. T. M. Nair there."[42] in Madras.

Shri Shahu, with all kinds of severe limitations in his own Native State, led the non-Brahmin movement to success. Limitations on his activities and the influence of the Brahmins exerting against him in the Native States and such other problems have been mentioned by Shri Shahu himself in every letter written by him. " At times His Highness felt that the Brahmin strong-hold is sure to press the non-Brahmins, but he was confident to fight them back. He felt that Discouragement will not save us, but will kill us. "[43] It was this militant spirit that ran in the blood of Shri Shahu. The greatest success of the non-Brahmin movements in both Presidencies was the introduction of the Montford Reforms providing for communal representation. It was with these efforts that he made Kolhapur itself the centre for the education of such as Jains, Lingayats, Christians, Marathas, and other backward classes.

It is also worthwhile to examine some criticisms levelled against Shri Shahu which throw ample light on the influence he wielded in the Deccan India. This goes to prove that the non-Brahmin movement of Tamil Nadu

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41 *United India and Indian States*. Madras, Wednesday, 23rd June, 1920, p.362.

42 K. R. O., File, 1919, Letter of Rao Bahadur Sabnis to H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj, **Appendix 19.**

43 K. R. O., File No. 24, L. Nos. 316, 317, and 318, **Appendix 10.**

is nothing but a **regeneration** of the Shahu's non-Brahmin movement. Shri Shahu brought the various non-Brahmin classes under a single movement, the non-Brahmin movement and he spread the movement specially in Madras Presidency. In Madras itself *'The Citizen'* had attacked Shri Shahu of Kolhapur, when the non-Brahmins in Madras Presidency, under the Presidentship of Dewan Bahadur R. Venkatraman Naidu, passed resolutions on this communal problem; and the President of the conference refuted the charge of anti-Brahmin bias in the Federation. *'The Citizen'* Madras then challenged the President to "repudiate the nauseating hymn of hate which the Maharaj of Kolhapur is (was) preaching and of which lucid illustration was provided in his angry effusion in the *Justice* the other day."[44] Besides this criticism in Madras, in Poona the *'Maratha'*, had also criticised Shri Shahu under the title *'Maharaja of Kolhapur's Phobia'* as follows :

> "His Highness the Maharaj of Kolhapur has aired his views on the Brahman and non-Brahman question in Madras and elsewhere and has shown therein his intense hatred of the Brahmans adhoc as a class. H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj brings the knowledge of biology into requisition and asks his followers to cultivate the habits of ravenous birds and blood-thirsty beasts, which perhaps is a reflection of his own ideals."[45]

Shri Shahu gained great popularity and united this movement under his leadership to such an extent that the motive and outlook of British rule was shaken to its very roots. The **" Divide and Rule Policy "** was used by the British to divide the people into Brahmins and non-Brahmins. This not only affected the British politics but also was used to limit Shri Shahu's non-Brahmin movement. Perhaps the British policy of **" Divide and Rule "** had no effect on the movement because of the unity in the non-Brahmin movement and its various organisations. The British also tried to limit the impact of Shri Shahu's personality. This can be inferred from Edwin. S. Montagu's *" An Indian Diary "*, which was written by Edwin Montagu daily during his visit to India in 1917-18, after the historic pronouncement of August 20, 1917, in the House of Commons. On 12th November, 1917, Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur met Montagu and appreciated the service's of Lord Willingdon, and said that "no Viceroy or Governor such as Willingdon ought to be moved during war."[46] On January 17, 1918, Dr. T. M. Nair met Montagu in Madras

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44 *The Citizen*, Madras, Saturday, January, 15, 1921, No. 43. Vol. I, p. 566.
45 *Maratha*, Poona, Sunday, January 16, 1921, p.26.
46 Edwin S. Montagu, *Indian Diary*, *op. cit.*, London, 1930, p. 23.

and complained that "his relations were not good with Lord Hardinge, Governor of Madras."[47] Knowing fully well Shri Shahu's cordial relations with the British administration and Governor Lord Willingdon, he pleaded "on behalf of the Princes, Chiefs, Jahagirdars and the landed gentry of Bombay Presidency and requested Lord Chelmsford that His Excellency Lord Willingdon may be permitted to remain as Governor of Bombay for another term of 5 years."[48] Shri Shahu was a great admirer of Lord Chelmsford. "When extremists had criticised His Lordship and his administration in their earlier meeting, Shri Shahu had expressed his regrets at the attempts of the extremists in making such mis-representations and mis-statements."[49] In spite of these relations, Lord Chelmsford transferred Lord Willingdon to Madras, undeterred by the requests made by H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj. This makes amply clear as to how the British played their role in the areas where there was Brahmin hold. Lord Willingdon's services were required more in Madras Presidency than in Bombay Presidency. This also indicates as to how non-Brahmin movement of Maharashtra always influenced the British to assess their own position ever since the movement was launched in 1873 by Jotiba Phule in treating the non-Brahmin politics on considerations of expediency. This was actually the period when the influence of Shri Shahu on the non-Brahmin movement vis-a-vis British rule in India was at its peak. It can therefore be inferred with good ground that it was with a view to belitteling the tremendous hold of Shri Shahu on the British administration in general and the non-Brahmin movement in particular that Lord Willingdon's transfer to Madras Presidency was effected inspite of Shri Shahu's request for his continuance in Bombay Presidency for another term of five years.

Shri Shahu wanted democracy minus caste-feelings. "With continuous hurdles created by the Brahminical influence he was so keen, and enthusiastic that he never gave up the struggle."[50] On 13th, 16th and 17th February, 1922, Shri Shahu presided over the *Third All India Depressed Classes Conference,* held at Delhi which is considered as the last conference over which he presided and spoke at. He breathed his last on 6th of May, 1922. In this last speech of his, "H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj called upon the people not to stick to their hereditary professions alone. He asked them to educate themselves and enter all professions such as Pleaders, Barristers, Doctors

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47 *Ibid.*, p.198.
48 K. R. O., File No. 19, L. No. 11/1, **Appendix 31.**
49 K. R. O., File No. 1920, L. No. R. 11313, dated 19th January, 1920, **Appendix 24.**
50 Latthe A. B., *Memoirs of Shri Shahu,* Vol. II, p. 580.

and Merchants. He also acknowledged the services of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who was absent on account of his visit to England. He asked the people of the *Depressed Classes* to follow Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar,"[51] who was another well-known leader of the Depressed Classes.

Shri Shahu's leadership was acknowledged by the *South Indian Liberal Federation* (City-Branch), Madras on 25th May 1922 (the one at Soundarya Mahal', Govindappa Naick Street, George Town, Madras). The resolution stated :

> "That this meeting of the non-Brahmins of the city of Madras express their deep sense of the loss sustained by the non-Brahmin community of this Presidency by the untimely death of Chhatrapati Maharaj of Kolhapur, and places on record its warm appreciation and gratitude for the invaluable service rendered by him in the cause of the country and especially for the progress and welfare of the Non-Brahmin community."[52]
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> On 30th May, 1922, the Editor of '*Justice*' acknowledges the telegram addressed to Mr. Raman Pillai by His Highness Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur. Further, the Editor of the *Justice* Madras states:
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> "I assure your Highness that in the death of your Highness's beloved father, the non-Brahmins of this Presidency have lost a sincere friend and well-wisher. They hope and trust that your Highness will continue to extend the same sympathy and assistance to their movement that your Highness's father was never wearied of giving."[53]

Mr. Ramswami Mudaliar was also closely associated with Shri Shahu. In his letter dated 25th June, 1924, from Richmond (Surrey) he said :

> "The late Maharaj, whose acquaintance I had the rare privilege and honour of possessing, had set such a high standard, and had brought the *House of Kolhapur* so prominently before the public eye, and had done so much in social field to give hope and cheer to the depressed and backward classes, that, in the Madras Presidency, **Kolhapur** stands for all that is **Just** and all

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51 *The Eastern Mail*, Delhi, 21st February, 1922, Delhi.

52 K. R. O. *Shahu Files*, 1922, **Appendix 42.**

53 K. R. O. *Shahu Files*, 1922, **Appendix 43.**

> that is **Equitable.** Your Highness has pleased the hearts of all people by announcing that you are prepared to follow the footsteps of your great father, and in your actions your Highness has been steadily keeping that policy in view."[54]

Further, it was this relation between the non-Brahmin movements in the two Presidencies of Bombay and Madras that resulted in the formation of 'the non-Brahmin Congress's and Confederation's which took shape under the leadership of Shri Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur, which will be dealt with in detail in the preceding chapters. Here a reference may be made to the *London Times* London (Supplement) of February 12, 1925, in which a review of the book *" Memoirs of H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur "* by A. B. Latthe appeared.

> The reviewer says : " H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj prepared the ground from which there sprang the non-Brahmin revolt, particularly in **Madras** and the **Deccan**, against a spiritual tyranny which threw a dark shadow over almost every phase of life. It was natural that he should be warmly attached to the British connection, founded as it is on principles of civil and religious freedom. In efforts to counteract sedition, and in promoting the allied cause in the Great War, he was characteristically whole-hearted. When the beleagured Kutch garrison ran short of food, and the Maratha sepoys had scruples about eating horse-flesh, he volunteered to go to Mesopotamia and to be carried to Kutch garrison by aeroplane in order to talk personally with the men. "[55]

The Justice Party of Madras owes its origins to the efforts made by Jotiba Phule, and later Shri Shahu Maharaj prepared the ground. In this respect the two Reformers of the non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra (Jotiba Phule and Shri Shahu) anticipated the programme of the non-Brahmin movement in Madras. The measures advocated by Jotiba Phule and Shri Shahu became the main items in the programme of the Madras non-Brahmin movement. Thanks to the greatness of Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur, specially to his efforts, special representation through mixed electorates was conceded to the non-Brahmins in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and also for influencing the British in matters of appointments. "The pioneer

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54. K. R. O., Rajaram Files. (Unclassified), 1924.; **Appendix 44.**
55. *The London Times*, (Supplement), London February 12, 1925.

reforms which he practised and preached for the untouchables half a century ago were later on to be embodied in the Constitution of free India."[56] "The late Maharaj of Kolhapur (1894–1922) played, a part in the social and political evolution of India in the past thirty years which has received far too little attention in this country."[57] This is not only the history of a movement but as well it is the history of a man. The non–Brahmin movement is one of **Non–Brahmin Regeneration.**

The Maharaj during the twenty–six years of his rule, was ever eager for the amelioration of all classes by emancipating them from the domination of the caste system. Much of his time and energy was devoted to this end. He regarded free and compulsory education of the backward classes as the first plank upon which to build the non–Brahmin structure for their elevation. The founding of schools and hostels was a duty which he conscientiously performed to the end of his life. Being confident in his belief that the non–Brahmin classes had become conscious of their present degraded condition, and naturally wished that the wide gulf between them and the Brahmins should lessen and should not, at any rate, be allowed to widen. By 1920 separate hostels had been started in the Maharaja's small capital for no fewer than eleven different sections of the community, including the Indian Christians and the so-called untouchables. This was of great significance and it is a great tribute to the tireless efforts of this liberal minded ruler of a small princely state in the erstwhile Bombay Presidency.

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56. Jadhav B. B., op. cit., p. 3–4
57. *The London Times* (Supplement), London, February, 12, 1925.

# 6 THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENTS

## The Justice and the Satya Shodhak Movements (1916–1937) A Comparative Study–

The history of Indian civilisation bears the mark of Brahmin genius at every stage and in every sphere. Some of the world's most daring thinkers have sprung from this caste–we need mention only a few like Badarayana, Kapila, Patanjali, Gautama, Kanada, Nagarjuna, Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhava. Some western authorities regard the grammarian Panini as an all time great. Then we have Aryabhata who is believed to have anticipated Copernicus by a thousand years; Charaka and Susruta, pioneers in medicine and surgery; Bharata who wrote on dramaturgy and dance; and poets, dramatists and story-writers who are too numerous to mention.

Even in modern times, Brahmins have been in the forefront in almost every field, except business and industry. Some of the most outstanding leaders of the freedom movement came from among them-Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari, Govind Ballalbh Pant, etc. There have been revolutionaries and Marxists like M. N. Roy and S. A. Dange.

The socio-political thought of the non–Brahmin movement of Madras, today known as the D. K., D. M. K., or A. I. D. M. K. (the party in power now in Tamil Nadu) has passed through various stages. Every new movement in the world, however progressive it may be, passes through several

stages. The non-Brahmin movement has had to pass through the classical experiences known to history. The genesis of the non-Brahmin movement, lies in the historical and ethnical aspects of mutual relations that subsisted between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The disruptive caste system has not gone unchallenged. Several worthy sons of India have made from generation to generation vigorous attempts to free Hindu society from this evil which degraded, segregated and devitalised the society. "Five hundred years before the birth of Christ, the Kingly, Mighty and rational Buddha rocked this system to its foundations. In the eleventh century Ramanuja, who had an untouchable disciple, threw open to the untouchables the monasteries temples which he had founded and built. Basava who was a minister of a Karnatak King, tried in his own way to pull down this system. Following this in the succeeding centuries saints like Kabir, Eknath, Tukaram, Ramadas succeeded to a great extent in establishing equality through the Bhakti cult. Then followed waves of socio-religious revival led by Ram Mohan Roy. " But the most vital role was played by Mahatma Phule who started in Poona in 1848, the first school in India for the untouchables. "[1]

> " Jotiba Phule represented a very different set of interests and a very different outlook on India from all the upper caste elite of the so called Indian Renaissance, who have dominated the awareness of both Indian and foreign intellectuals. The elite expressed an ideology of what may be described as the 'national revolution; it was the nationalism of a class combining bourgeois and high caste traditions. Phule represented the ideology of the social revolution in its earliest form, with a peasant and anti-caste outlook. Phule's thought represented the fulfilment of the renaissance desire for social transformation along revolutionary lines. He, and not the later elite thinkers, from Ranade through Tilak, should be seen as the primary renaissance figure."[2]

After Jotiba Phule's death in 1890, his reforms were later on carried by Shri Shahu. It was under these influences that there came up a body of the country's population, if not homogeneous and perfectly organised, but certainly united-Justice and the Satya Shodhak Samaj. The relations between

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1 Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar : Life and Mission,* Popular Prakashan, Bombay 1971, pp. 3-4.

2 Gail Omvedt, " *Jotirao Phule and the Ideology of Social Revolution in India.*" *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. VI, No. 37, September, 1971.

the two have already been examined in chapter V. These two forces were united by a common grievance and inspired by a common ambitions. The inauguration of the Indian Home Rule Movement in 1916 ushered in attempts by non-Brahmins to secure a more influential and assured place in public life under the leadership of Shri Shahu, Dr. T. M. Nair and Sir. P. T. Chettiar. The Home Rule agitation ushered into the existence of 'Justice' and the ' **Non-Brahmin Movement** '. " Friends of social reform all over the country realized that the great conflict between the Home Rulers and the anti-Home Rulers was nothing more than a loud call for social reform once more and will rejoice over it that this conflict meant that we are on the eve of a great **Social Reconstruction.** "[3]

Eugene F. Irschick has examined elaborately the non-Brahmin sentiments and concludes as follows : When the Justice Party was formed in the late 1916, anti-Brahmin sentiment was not a new phenomenon in Madras, and this was not confined simply to the Tamil areas, it appeared also in the Malayalam speaking Malbar district, in Mysore, and in the Telugu districts. Further, he states that the anti-Brahmin sentiment was heard loudly only in 1916 and asks why did it not originate twenty years earlier ? " A complete answer to this question must await further research in late nineteenth century Madras politics."[4] "He further states that in 1916-17, the Justice Party was able to develop a leadership and a following that would have been impossible twenty years earlier."[5]

Eugene F. Irschick, whose contribution can be considered as most recent in the study of the Madras non-Brahminism, taking note of the opinions of various scholars has very aptly raised this doubt, and this very doubt of his points to the popularity, and influence of Shri Shahu, who had reached the peak of popularity by 1916, in spreading the movement beyond his Native State. Further, it can also be pointed out that the anti-Brahmin sentiment in Maharashtra was also not a new phase and had developed right since the Jotiba Phule era which later became popular in the Madras Presidency. In this connection it is worthwhile to state that " in 1875-the Maratha peasant risings of Poona and Ahmadnagar broke heads and contracts in a series of free for all. But these were peasant risings of the traditional type, the reaching for sticks and stones as the only way of protesting against distress of specific political content they show little sign. Faced with

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3 K. Srinivas Rao, *The Crisis in India*, Guntur, 1918, p. vii.
4 Irschick F. Eugene, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*, Oxford, 1971 p. 351.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 352.

mounting debts and shrinking fields, they marched, not against the foreigner, but against the land-owner and the money lender."[6] These 'Deccan Riots' actually gave rise to the non-Brahmin struggle, from which emerged Jotiba Phule who constructed a platform for the non-Brahmins. "Phule, it is true, failed to provide economic analysis or political organization appropriate for this struggle. But he had a clear vision of the need for and the basis of a liberation movement,"[7] which was further provided by Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur. The Brahmin dominance in these two Presidencies was more or less of the same type. In 1881 the percentage of the Brahmins of the total population was 3.9 in Madras compared with 4.8 in Bombay,"[8] "and the role of the Maratha Brahmin in the early politics of South is important."[9] In the Bombay Presidency the dominance of the Brahmin in education had been felt. The question was viewed in the light of the possible encouragement for private enterprise in the field. It was felt that indigenous schools if provided with liberal facility would definitely help in improving the situation.

The extent to which the children of various races or castes attended the schools as a part of the educational development scheme can be assessed from the following chart :

**( Table showing caste-wise distribution of attendance in schools in 1881-82. )**

| | No. of schools in 1880-81 | Percent | No. of Schools in 1881-82 | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christians | 1,300 | 00.48 | 1,521 | 00.49 |
| Brahmins | 58,175 | 21.37 | 63,071 | 20.17 |
| Other Hindus | 174,072 | 63.94 | 202,345 | 64.69 |
| Muhammadans | 33,033 | 12.13 | 39,231 | 12.54 |
| Parsis | 3,109 | 1.14 | 3,517 | 1.12 |
| Aboriginal and Hill Tribes | 2,135 | 00.78 | 2,713 | 00.87 |
| Jews & others | 443 | 00.16 | 373 | 00.12 |

6 Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Cambridge, 1968 pp. 12-13.
7 Gail Omvedt, "*Joti Phule and Ideology of Social Revolution in India*" '*Economic and Political Weekly*', Vol. VI, No. 37-48, September, 1971.
8 *Census of India*, 1881, Vol. I. (111).
9 R. E. Frykenberg, *Guntur District*, 1788-45, Oxford, 1965, p. 77.

The percentage of the Hindu children at school to the total male population was 2.55 in 1880–81 and 2.84 in 1881–82. The corresponding percentages for the Muhammadan children was 1.70 and 2.02 respectively. In 1880–81, the number of Brahmin children at the primary schools was 7,600, greater than in the year 1879–80. In 1881–82, the number showed a further increase of 4,800 or 8.59 per cent."[10] This points to the dominance of Brahmins, in social and educational spheres which was not only unique to Madras Presidency but also to Bombay Presidency. This contributed to the development of a sense of dissatisfaction among the non-Brahmins in both the Presidencies, and this had already become a part of the popular movement under the impact of the '**Satya Shodhak Samaj**'.

In 1916, the Brahmin–non–Brahmin conflict, under the impact of '**Satya Shodhak Samaj**' had resulted in "every now and then, into caste controversy, regarding the undue predominance the Brahmin community was possessing in the official life of the country. This conflict was having a great impact on the press of Madras from elsewhere and was given prominence everywhere."[11] This obscure 'elsewhere' is obviously a reference to the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and its influence in Bombay Presidency. Thus non–Brahmin movement came in direct conflict with the Home Rule movement, and had also been "subjected to many abuses, mis–understandings and misrepresentation, when the non–Brahmin movement in 1916, at last was recognised because of its aims and demands."[12] "The non–Brahmins had, owing to a concatenation of conditions, fallen behind in the race for English education and had therefore suffered in influence under the British Government. What was wanting is the veneer of western education, and with it perhaps a knowledge of political life and ideals of the western countries."[13]

The Brahmin community,especially in South India exercised a predominating influence which was not altogether the result of intellect or education, because many of the non-Brahmin castes were also as well educated and were as much intellectuals as the Brahmins. The predominance was perhaps due to the persistence of those caste distinctions by virtue of which alone the Brahmin had occupied a position superior to those of the lesser castes. "Education lines at first had the effect of accentuating this superiority, because by birth, training and intellect, the Brahmins were predisposed to take advantage of

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10 *Report on Education in the Bombay Presidency*, November, 1882, pp. 81–86.
11 *Madras Mail*, Madras "Caste Controversies", July 19, 1916.
12 *New India*, Madras, August 31, 1917.
13 *Ibid.* August 31, 1917.

the opportunities offered. Some of these barriers still existed not because of the fault of education, but it was due to the persistence of other influences, which were more or less tacitly admitted, while their results were resented, by those who had not the good fortune to be among the twice born".[14]

The non – Brahmin movement came as an opportunity to the country's population to expound their principles, to give expression to the faith in them, to place their ideal before the country. Side by side the movement took up the cause of expansion of education elementary, secondary and higher education. The Home Rule Movement brought the non–Brahmins into direct conflict, because "Mrs Besant was associated with almost all Brahmans, and many of the assumptions that she articulated about Indian culture were based on the Puranas, Manu and the epics,"[15] and the non-Brahmin movement both in Bombay and Madras Presidencies attacked the very basis of the Vedas; because of which "the Brahman–non-Brahmana conflict was found supreme in every Taluk."[16] Lord Sydenham, as a close friend of the non-Brahmin cause, pointed out that "India's most pressing need is the abolition of the caste system and here lies a magnificient field to work for real Indian patriots. Such patriots exist but not in the small body of political agitators who are demanding power for their needs."[17] Lord Sydenham also referred to the various leaders like Shri Shahu Maharaj, Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar and others.

The non–Brahmin movement came in the form of a great awakening. The non–Brahmins were anxious to secure posts and places in public services as well as opportunities for political training commensurate with their numbers, their wealth and their importance. Under the British rule collaborations were of different types, and they varied both in their nature and in their intensity. Men who worked with the foreign regime did so from a variety of motives, and all groups may be classed as collaborators whose actions coincided with the objectives of the British. It was self–interest which brought them to the side of the **Raj.** Both the nationalist forces and anti–nationalist forces, as these two movements criticised each other, fell in line with the British policy, i. e., the **Divide and Rule Policy.** Both these forces operated simultaneously and neither held a constant position. Each had its

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14 *Madras Mail*, Madras "Caste Controversies." July 19, 1916.
15 Irschick F. Eugene, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*, p. 44.
16 *Madras Mail*, Madras, September 23, 1916
17 K. P. Parvathi Amma, (Lady Madhavan Nair), *Autobiography of Sri Sankaran Nair*, Madras, p. 115.

defectors, but the very genius of the non-Brahmin movement points that non-Brahmin movement was more nationalist because it was a social reformist movement. For the non-Brahmins, social reform was of first priority than freedom; whereas for the Home Rule Movement, freedom was first and then social reform. The collaboration of Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant "during the middle of the war in launching a Home Rule Movement "[18] was an important factor which brought a good deal of unity between the Justice Party and 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' to rebut the criticisms of the Home Rule Movement. As already pointed out both were collaborators as far as the British policy went, but the "Non-Brahmin Movement was more moderate than the Congress party and it sought to attain its goal to full responsible government through constitutional methods,"[19] and these efforts of the non-Brahmins produced results which were of national significance, and it took the whole country by storm. The non-Brahmin Movement was criticised and dubbed as anti-nationalist by the Home Rule Movement leaders. In Madras Presidency the non-Brahmin leaders had to face the criticism of Mrs. Annie Besant. In Bombay Presidency, it was Tilak who carried on the propaganda of the Home Rule movement, and who was also a staunch critic of Shri Shahu of Kolhapur, who condemned Shri Shahu for "airing his views on the Brahman and Non-Brahman question in Madras and elsewhere to show his intense hatred towards Brahmins.[20] Tilak was connected with Kolhapur affairs, even when "the name of Bal Gangadhar Tilak had not yet acquired the awesome prestige and the mass veneration of the future Lokamanya,"[21] and Tilak's conflict with Kolhapur perhaps might have become the principal cause to spread the non-Brahmin movement, especially in Madras Presidency. "British officialdom was already beginning to be netted by his blistering attacks against their policies and performance."[22] In both these Presidencies, the Home Rule Movement was criticised as Brahminical in its influence. The Home Rule Movement was gaining support rapidly under Mrs. Annie Besant, its chief leader along with Tilak, who had been interned in Ootacmund in June, 1917. Mrs. Besant's Theosophical propaganda devoutedly glorified traditional Hinduism, and no doubt most of her followers in Madras were Brahmins. Her newspaper '*New India*' criticised strongly the Justice Party.

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18 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, 1968, 'Non-Brahmin Movement and the Justice Party, Gopal Menon.

19 Baliga B. S., *Studies in Madras Administration*, Government of Madras, Vol. 1.

20 *Maratha*. Poona. *Maharaj of Kolhapur's Phobia*, Sunday, January 16, 1921, p. 26.

21 Malgaonkar Manohar, *Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur*, Popular, Bombay, 1971, p. 565.

22 *Idid.*, p. 565.

Its spokesmen replied by calling her an "Irish Brahmani".[23] In Bombay Presidency Tilak's newspapers such as '*Kesari*', '*Maharatta*', '*Rastra Mat*', and '*Kal*' from Poona; "upheld the traditional Hinduism and criticised the non-Brahmin movement and Shri Shahu. "The Brahmin hold in Maharashtra's villages, was so great that at Jannar the Brahmin Talaties sold pictures of Mr. Tilak worth an anna for Rs. 5/- and collected funds for him."[24] Besides, it does not mean that Mrs. Annie Besant did not attack the non-Brahmin movement in Bombay Presidency. It was right in November 1873, that she addressed the '*Maratha Theosophical Federation*', in which she referred to the great role Maharashtra had played in the near past, and further asserted that "this district of Maharashtra had a great part to play in India, and it can only play it well, if the old fire of spiritual enthusiasm shall dominate the intellect."[25] Both Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant propagated Home Rule, tried to arouse the sentiments of the people with a religious base. Brahmins leaders in Bombay Presidency tried to move in the areas where Shri Shahu tried to encourage education for non-Brahmins. "When the Brahmins saw that their coreligionists were trying to throw off their despotic yoke, they at once built a fortress near Sangli, i. e., the Willingdon College. The '*Kesari*' had also written that all should join this college."[26] Tilak often clashed with Shri Shahu Maharaj and he used his newspaper '*Kesari*' to attack Shahu, as the '*New India*' did in Madras Presidency. The '*Kesari*' once wrote in condemnation of Shahu as he came to the throne on adoption saying "even one's own child has to be cut to pieces when there is a cross birth."[27] Shri Shahu also tried to encourage '*Vishwa Bandhu*' (Marathi), a paper which was opposed to Tilakiate views, and because of which the paper had fallen down."[28]

The two non-Brahmin movements (The Justice and Satya Shodhak Samaj) worked unitedly to confront the Home Rule movement and its tactics, and the main reason why Shri Shahu Maharaj took the movement into the wide South was the historical rivalry between Poona and Kolhapur cities and under the British, the conflict was between Tilak and Shahu (coming from Poona and Kolhapur respectively). In Madras Presidency Dr. T. M. Nair, a physician had for some years edited a medical journal called "*Antiseptic*".

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23 P. Spratt, *D. M. K. in Power*, pp. 20–21.

24 Note by H. H. The Maharaj of Kolhapur on the necessity of *'Seperate Communal Electorate for Marathas and Others'*.

25 Annie Besant, '*For India's Uplift*' *(Speeches and Writings on Indian Questions)*, Madras p. 316.

26 K. R. O., Letter from Shahu to Curtis, Griffith, Mr. Robertson. **Appendix 10.**

27 K. R. O., Letter to Wodehouse from Shahu, **Appendix 3.**

28 K. R. O., Letter from Shahu to Robertson, **Appendix 4.**

But he did not limit his writing only to medical subjects. One article in fact brought him into protracted conflict with Mrs. Annie Besant. It was called '*Psychopatia Sexualis in a Mahatma*' and concerned the sexual practices of Charles W. Leadbeater with his disciples in the *Theosophical Society.*"[29] Shri Shahu was criticised also in the Madras Presidency. "*The Citizen*" (Madras) on January 15, 1921 condemning Shri Shahu, had asked the President of the Conference of the Justice School of Politics, "to repudiate the nauseating hymn of hate which the Maharaj of Kolhapur was preaching."[30] These would explain to a certain extent as to why the anti-Brahmin sentiment did not originate twenty years earlier to 1916, as doubted by Eugene F. Irschick. For everything that went against a Brahmin in any part of Southern India, Shri Shahu was blamed. Hence the very formation of the Justice Party in 1916 indicates it was a time to define the attitude of the several important non-Brahmin Indian communities in Madras Presidency towards what was called ' The Indian Home Rule Movement ' and also to indicate facts with respect to their present political position."[31] The '*Non-Brahmin Manifesto*' of December 1916, throwing much light on the sufferings of the non-Brahmin in Madras Presidency came as a result of Mrs. Annie Besant's Home Rule Movement supported by Tilak and other Brahmins' participation in the Swadeshi and Terrorist agitations in Bombay and elsewhere. " It was only in 1916-17, the Justice Party was able to develop a leadership and a following that would have been impossible twenty years earlier."[32] It was the impact of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj ' movement which contributed to the rise of the Justice Party.

Shri Shahu played an important part in the destiny and the liberation of suppressed humanity in Southern India. The depressed classes in India had different names in different parts of the country. They were called Pariahs, Atishudras, Panchamas, etc. They were forbidden from keeping even certain domestic animals, using certain metals for ornaments, wearing particular type of dress and having particular type of food etc. Their children were not admitted to schools attended by the caste Hindu children. Heavily influenced by all these social conditions, Shri Shahu lost no time during his reign in improving their lot. The Justice Party, emerging from these influences, had developed the socio-political thought, not too much different from that of the ' Satya Shodhak Samaj'. As the Home Rule Movement was

29 Eugene Irschick, *Social Conflict in South India*, Oxford, 1971, p. 49.
30 *The Citizen*, Madras No. 43, Vol. I, January 15, 1921, p. 566.
31 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir*. Madras ' The Non-Brahmin Manifesto', p. 1.
32 Eugene Irschick, Social Conflict in South India; Oxford. 1971 p. 352.

gaining momentum the non-Brahmins realised in 1917 the threat to their interest and felt that Mrs. Annie Besant and her movement for Home Rule was meant to acquire all powers for the Brahmins. The non-Brahmins therefore, wanted political independence and they moved for Dominion status for India. Leaders of the non-Brahmin movement were not conservatives. They were perhaps the true exponents of democracy. " The movement organised in 1873 by Jotiba Phule's ' Satya Shodhak Samaj ' as a cultural revolutionary movement was in fact directed against the religious and social domination of the Brahmins. Increasingly it defined itself as a movement of the '**Bahujan Samaj**' (Masses or majority community) whose primary enemies were not only '*bhatjis*' or Brahmins, but also '*shetjis*' or the merchants and money-lenders who were frequently de-facto or actual land-lords."[33]

The '*Non-Brahmin Manifesto*' had the same content perhaps throwing better light on the then social position existing in Madras Presidency, but besides this, some of the thoughts expressed by leaders of the non-Brahmin movement at various places point out that the socio-political thought of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and Justice Party were in no way different. This also points to the unity that existed between these two movements. When the Justice Party was launched in 1916, there were a number of conferences and meetings held at various places in the Madras Presidency. Similarly, the ' Satya Shodhak Samaj ' had its own conferences and meetings in the Bombay Presidency. The two movements at times touched each other on more than one occasion, because of Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar, Shri Ramswami Mudaliar, Raja of Panagal all of whom had much in common with the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj ' leaders of Bombay Presidency, and had personal acquaintance with Shri Shahu. It is to be noted that before the establishment of the Justice Party in 1916, the first gathering of the non-Brahmins was held under the '*Dravidian Association*' at the Hindu High School, Triplicane, Madras on 26th November, 1916. In this meeting, Dr. T. M. Nair delivered an interesting address, which throws ample light on the influence of ' Satya Shodhak Samaj ' on the political thought of Madras.

He pointed " never before had non-Brahmins come together in such large numbers for purpose of corporate action, and he felt sure that henceforth non-Brahmins would always co-operate for the common well-being of the community and for the purpose of enabling non-Brahmins to

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33 *Economic and Political Weekly*, ' Non-Brahmin and Communists in Bombay ', Vol. VIII, No. 16, April 21, 1973.

take their proper place in the Government of the country"... He further pointed out "non-Brahmins should all cling together, because in the past they had been deliberately put down... Education had been denied to the Shudras and only menial duties were assigned to them. He also stated as to how the advent of the British had emancipated them. The speaker was sure that but for the British assuming rule over India, the non-Brahmins would have continued to remain in a state of veritable intellectual thraldom. Dr. T. M. Nair went to say that it was indeed a deep debt of gratitude which the non-Brahmins owed to the British Raj. Further another point to be noted in this speech is Dr. Nair pointed....to improve the condition of the non-Brahmins, the only way was to see that their landed aristocracy were given opportunities of leading them."[34] In this Dr. T. M. Nair exhibited an awareness of the success achieved by the Southern Maratha Confederacy (the Princely state of Kolhapur). Dr. T. M. Nair's intention was to place the movement on the same lines as that of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' lead by Shri Shahu.

It was in 1916 itself "on the request of some gentlemen from the city and the mofussil, particularly the latter, the committee of the *Madras Dravidian Association* proposed to start a Hostel from the first week of July next, for non-Brahmana youths who desire to receive their education from the schools and colleges of Madras city."[35] This was obviously under the influence of the idea of starting hostels, the cordial principle of Shri Shahu of Kolhapur. To this end much of H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj's time was devoted. He regarded free and compulsory education of the backward classes as "the first plank upon which to build the non-Brahman structure for their elevation. The foundation of schools and hostels was a duty which he conscientiously performed."[36] The next speech of Dr. T. M. Nair was at the Victoria Hall under the auspices of the Muthial Pet Muslim Anjuman. He spoke here on "*Our Immediate Political Out Look*" In this speech he stated that within the last two years . "A sudden change has come in the political condition of India. He felt that Home Rule is meant for the people of the country who are sufficiently advanced in education and intelligence to exercise their franchise intelligently. You know, he asserted, that an overwhelming majority of the people of this country are not so advanced and therefore, nobody understood the conditions necessary for granting Home

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34 *Madras Mail*, Madras 'The Dravidian Association', November 27, 1916.
35 *New India*, Madras 'A Non-Brahmana Hostel', June 1, 1916.
36 *Scotsman*, London "An Indian Prince" May 28, 1925.

Rule."[37] Dr. T. M. Nair spoke in the context of India as a whole and not in the Dravidian context. Here it need not be stated that 'Satya Shodhaks' wanted self-rule, provided they were capable of it. Shri Shahu had made it clear on more than one occasion that he considered social reform first and freedom next. He wanted democracy minus caste system.

Celebrating the second '*Justice*' Anniversary, Dr. T. M. Nair in his speech pointed "many of the expectations had been fulfilled, but in one respect this had not been the case. Those connected with the Justice had not so far been able to convince Mr. Montagu about the need for communal representation. Montagu had not yet been made to realise that there was a case for the non-Brahmin. It was for this reason that Lord Willingdon was transferred from Bombay Presidency to Madras Presidency. Further, he pointed out that in this connection something better can be done in England than in India. (Such a thinking on his part is evident from Appendixes 21 and 22). Lord Sydenham and Lord Curzon worked for this. Dr. T. M. Nair states that already "something in this direction has been none."* Refer Foot Note.

Further, Dr. T. M. Nair felt that it was a critical time for India, and if the non-Brahmins did not rise to the occasion and made willing sacrifices, there was every possibility of their being unable to caste off their shackles for a long time to come. He also warned his listners to be on their guard against official pressure.[38] Both Dr. T. M. Nair and Shri Shahu were well-known leaders of the non-Brahmin movement of their times, and when Dr. T. M. Nair left for London he met a tragic end in July 1919. This affected to a great extent the unity of the non-Brahmin movement and Shri Shahu instituted a memorial scholarship as a token of his love and affection fo Dr. T. M. Nair. After Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar enters the field. He championed the cause of the under-privileged and became the most popular person in the Madras Presidency. The unity in the non-Brahmin movement of Madras and Bombay did not end after Dr. T. M. Nair, as Sir P. T. Chettiar was again closely associated with H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur and his activities. " Sir P. T. Chettiar attended the conference held at Hubli in July 1920, under the auspices of the '*Karnataka Non-*

37 *New India* Madras March 15, 1917.

* Dr. Nair's statement "that something in this direction has been done" points to the united efforts of Dr. T. M. Nair, and Shri Shahu. Referring to the correspondence and the friendship which existed between Dr. Nair and Shri Shahu, it can be concluded that leaders of Satya Shodhak Samaj and the Justice Party worked together.

38 *Madras Mail*, Madras "The Justice Anniversary" March 10, 1919.

*Brahmin Conference*.' "[39] The speeches of Shri Shahu Maharaj delivered at various places such as Khamgaon, Bombay, Navasari, Kanpur, Bhavanagar, Nasik, Hubli etc., in sum, bring home to ones mind that there was hardly any difference between the working of the two movements in every respect, viz., conducting of conferences, advocating for communal representation, social reforms, and calling at every juncture for unity between the non-Brahmins. Perhaps there was more disunity in the non-Brahmins of Madras Presidency than in Bombay Presidency. The respect which Shri Shahu commanded from among the various communities is already established. But in Madras Presidency the disunity came to the surface the very moment the Justice Party was launched through issuing a '*Non-Brahmin Manifesto*' with the signature of Sir P. T. Chettiar. The '*South Indian Liberal Federation*' was attacked, calling its members as non-Brahmans and their self-constituted leaders, contradicting the cablegram sent by Sir P.T.Chettiar to Mr.Montagu stating that he represents 40 millions of non-Brahmans in Madras Presidency."[40] Following this on September 21, 1917, a separate '*Non-Brahmins Association*' was formed. " This association of the non-Brahmins affirmed the adherence of all the Indian communities of Madras Presidency other than Brahmans to the scheme of reforms propounded by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, subject to the principle of providing adequate representation for the several communities and interests"[41] The non-Brahmins in Tinnevelly formed ' *The Poor Schools Society* ' which represented Madura, Ramnad, Tinnevelly, and this organisation also approved the Congress-League Reforms subject to the principle of communal representation.[42]

An analysis of the disunity amongst the non-Brahmins of Madras Presidency and the use of various non-Brahmin organisations particularly with the establishment of the Justice Party, helps to establish two facts. The rise of various non-Brahmin organisations was due to the efforts made by Mrs. Annie Besant to bring non-Brahmins under the Home Rule Movement, and secondly it can be considered as an indication of the dislike of certain non-Brahmin leaders towards Shri Shahu's support to Justice Party. It is because of this that there is not much of a reference to Shri Shahu's relations with the Justice Party, but his correspondence and acknowledgements can be

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39 Jadhav B. B., *Shahu Maharajanche Bhasene*. p. 101.
40 '*New India*', Madras " Non-Brahmans and Their Self-Constituted Leaders", September 7. 1917.
41 '*New India*', Madras. " Non-Brahmins and Home Rule", September 22, 1917.
42 '*New India*', Madras. " The Poor Schools Society", November 28, 1917.

considered as an ample proof of his intimacy with the Justice Party. Besides these organisations, in Madras there were two major societies (associations) of the non-Brahmins known as '*South Indian Liberal Federation*' and the '*South Indian Peoples Association*'. But on 27-3-1919, both these associations informed "the Government of India, that the '*South Indian Peoples Association*' and '*South Indian Liberal Federation*' had agreed to combine and accept eight (8) Priority certificates for the delegation about to proceed to England to represent their views."*

With reference to these differences among the non-Brahmins themselves, the *Justice* came out with a statement that "If the administration is to be of a representative character it is absolutely necessary to meet the ends of justice that each and every community among Brahmins and non-Brahmins should be represented in councils and public service, so as to cause no harm to anybody. The present classification of Indians into two divisions *viz*, Brahmins and non-Brahmins is unjust and has resulted in certain communities of Brahmins and non-Brahmins becoming backward classes... .

"The sub-divisions among Brahmins should be into 1) Tamil Brahmins, 2) Iyengar Brahmins, 3) Rowji Brahmins, 4) Telugu Brahmins, settled in the Southern part of Madras Presidency not forming part of the Andhras of the North.

"The sub-divisions of the non-Brahmins should be into (1) Naidus, (2) Moodeliars, (3) Pillays, (4) Chettiyars, in as much as Vaisyas and Kshatriyas are taken as separate classes, as also Mussulman and Christians and Anglo-Indians and (5) Panchamas."[43] It is largely due to this disunity among the non-Brahmins in Madras Presidency and its weakness that Lord Willingdon was transferred to Madras Presidency from Bombay Presidency. The Justice Party in fact gained much by the transfer of Lord Willingdon, who swung the pendulum in favour of the '*South Indian Liberal Federation*'. The transfer was more an impetus to the non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency. He was a seasoned Governor. The Justice Party in its initial period had to face opposition both from the non-Brahmins and from the Brahmins. Of course the situation was similar in Bombay Presidency, but the towering personality of Shri Shahu did not allow disunity to continue, and once again

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* Refer, M. R. O. Refer *G. O.* (*Ordinary Series*) *No. 150,* dated 27.3.1919.

43 *Madras Mail.* Madras 'Communal Representation', (Justice editorial reprinted), November 24, 1917.

it was this inspiration of Shri Shahu which did not allow the non-Brahmin movement in Madras to fade out, though it was suffering from many weaknesses ever since its inception in 1916. The Justice Party, working on the lines of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj', moved from place to place conducting '*Non-Brahmin Conferences*' in the interior parts of the Presidency. The Justice Party lacked unity within, but there was no lack of unity between the Justicites and 'Satya Shodhak Samajists'. The unity between these two movements suffered a set-back between 1919-1922, as both these movements lost their principal leaders like Dr. T. M. Nair (in 1919) and H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj (in 1922). It is worthwhile here to mention that when Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur passed away, a condolence meeting was held, presided over by the Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur P. Ramarayanaigar (the then Minister for Local Self-Government). The Chairman said that in the death of the H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj, they had lost one of their valued friends. "He was one of those who realised the importance of the '*South Indian Liberal Federation*' and its activities. He befriended the leaders of that movement and he tried his very best to espouse the cause of the depressed classes. Further to commemorate Shri Shahu's memory (in Madras), a committee was also constituted.[44]

**Conferences and Confederations of non-Brahmin Movement in India (Justice and Satya Shodhak Samaj).**

It is in such a social and political background that various confederations and conferences of non-Brahmin parties took place at various places. On February 8, 1925, the '*Seventh Non-Brahmin Confederation*' was held at the Victoria Hall. It was an adjourned session of the '*Seventh Non-Brahmin Confederation*'. The confederation was presided over by Mr. M. Krishnan Nair, who in his address declared :

> " there was also the meeting of the *All-India Non-Brahmins* at Belgaum (Bombay Presidency). The Non-Brahmin conferences which used to be more or less a provincial affair had now been elevated to an All-India level. He was glad that Madras had come out creditably in that conference under the able guidance of Mr. Ramswami Mudaliar."[45]

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44 '*Madras Mail*', " H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur ", (Condolence meeting) May 22, 1922.

45 *The Hindu* (Madras) " Non-Brahmin Confederation - Adjourned Session," February 9, 1925.

This '*All-India Non-Brahmin Conference*' was held in Belgaum on 26th December, 1924, which was attended by the Hon'ble Raja of Panagal ( the then Minister in the Government of Madras ) and Sir P. T. Chettiar and other notables. " Further it is also pointed that Ramswami Mudaliar had also attended the '*Satara Non-Brahmin Conference*' "[46] held on 18th December, 1922, which was presided over by H. H. Shri Rajaram Maharaj ( son of Shri Shahu Maharaj and his successor) of Kolhapur,"[47] and Ramswami Mudaliar's oratory was very much appreciated. "The '*All-India Non-Brahmin Conference*' of Belgaum was attended by members and delegates from Madras, Bombay and Central Provinces. In this letter it is also pointed out as to how late H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj was looked upon as the head of the Non-Brahmin Party."[48] Ramswami Mudaliar and Sir P. T. Chettiar were in close touch with the Satya Shodhak Samaj now under Rajaram Maharaj's leadership. ( Refer Appendix 44 ).

Further, in the '*Seventh Non-Brahmin Confederation*' held on February 8th, 1925, Ramswami Mudaliar moved the following resolution : " In view of the fact that there is a general feeling in favour of bringing about unity between the various political parties in the country working for Swaraj, and in view of the fact that steps have already been taken by the Indian National Congress towards the end, this *Confederation* appoints the following members to represent the non-Brahmins of Southern India in all endeavours in the direction of promoting all party unity : Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, Mr. A. Ramswami Mudaliar, Mr. A. Sivarama Menon, Mr. V. Sivaprakasa Mudaliar, Mr. S. G. Rajaramanujan, Mr. Pancharatnam Pillai, Mr. Kondappa and Mr. M. Ratnaswamy."[49] Mr. Ramswami Mudaliar explained the reasons for the suffering of the non-Brahmins because " of the schisms and divisions which had come into the political sphere of the country today. This was a fact on which there could be no two opinions. Whether they labelled themselves as Congressmen, Liberals, or Federationists, whether they were classified on a sectarian or religious basis, or whether they divided themselves as non-Brahmins, Mahomedans, Christians and Depressed Classes, it was an undoubted fact that unless there was some amount of co-operative activity on the part of all these communities and parties, the political goal of the country

46 Rajaram Files, K. R. O. Letter of B. V. Jadhav to Rajaram Maharaj, dated-24th December, 1924.

47 K. R. O., Presidential Address of H. H. Shri Rajaram Maharaj '*Satara Non-Brahmin Conference*', 18th December, 1922.

48 K. R. O. Letter of B. V. Jadhav to Rajaram Maharaj, Rajaram Files dated-24th Decembers, 1924.

49 *The Hindu* (Madras), Non-Brahmin Confederation, February 9, 1925.

was not likely to be hastened. If complete union was not possible among all the parties, at least that amount of joint action which the interests of the country at present desired was necessary."[50] The appeal of Sir Ramswami Mudaliar for unity came as an urgent need. He was a close associate of both Shri Shahu Maharaj and his Heir Apparent Rajaram Maharaj. The non-Brahmin masses in Madras Presidency were not aware as to how " His Highness Shri Shahu Maharaj had created a ground from which there sprang the non-Brahmin revolt, particularly in Madras and the Deccan, against a spiritual tyranny which threw a dark shadow over almost every phase of life."[51] With the passing away of the two foremost leaders-Dr. T. M. Nair in 1919 and H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj in 1922, came another blow to this movement with the irrepairable loss caused by the death of Sir P. T. Chettiar on 29th June, 1925. " Sir P. T. Chettiar was the grand-old-man of Madras and Mentor of the Justice Party."[52] " On May 25, 1925, at the public meeting of the non-Brahmins at Victoria Hall, the Raja of Panagal, who also presided over the meeting, said Sir P. T. Chettiar was the spirit and soul of the movement, and also stated that he was responsible for its birth and for its growth. He further stated ... though he has been characterised as a re-actionary by some, he was the most democratic leader that is known to Southern India."[53] By the time Sir P. T. Chettiar passed away, there was a great deal of disunity among the non-Brahmins of Madras Presidency, and the meeting was a sort of reunion.

**Non-Brahmin Movement after Sir P. T. Chettiar**

After the death of Sir P. T. Chettiar, it was Sir Ramswami Mudaliar who formed a link between the Satya Shodhak Samaj and the Justice Party (Refer Appendix 44),which again resulted in conducting the '*Ninth Non-Brahmin Confederation*' on 19th December, 1925, in Victoria Hall, Madras. The Hon. Mr. B. V. Jadhav, Minister of Education, Bombay, presided over it. Mr. M. Krishanan Nair proposed the Hon. Mr. B. V. Jadhav as President and further stated " the great Non-Brahmin Movement was started 13 years ago from which time it had been gathering volume and strength. If it was becoming an '*All-India movement*', it was due to the advice, the energy and activity of leaders like Mr. B. V. Jadhav. Mr. B. V. Jadhav was (refered as) the Captain General of their forces..."

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50 *Ibid.*, Februaıy 9, 1975.
51 *The London Times* ( Supplement ) London. The Maharaja of Kolhapur, February 12 1925.
52 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir,* Welcome by P. T. Rajan, p. XXIII.
53 *The Hindu* ( Madras ), ' Non-Brahmin Politics Move for Re-union ', May 26, 1925.

Further,... seconding the proposition of Mr. Krishnan Nair, Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar, stated " with the combined efforts of Bombay and Madras, they hoped to effect the amelioration of their conditions and their liberation from the thraldom social, political and religious. "[54]

Mr. A. Ramswami Mudaliar who spoke supporting the election of Hon. Mr. B. V. Jadhav pointed " something was wanting in their movement in the city, and they looked forward to Mr. B. V. Jadhav to give that lead which would give a new start to the movement which, to a small or great extent, was languishing in this Presidency. "[55] Mr. Ramswami Mudaliar wanted that a new start should be given to the movement, which indicates that he knew very well as to how the Justice movement was encouraged earlier from the Bombay Presidency. ( Refer Appendix 44 ).

Sir. Ramswami Mudaliar, in order to maintain the link between the two movements, organised two '*All-India Conferences*', one at Madras on 19th December, at the Victoria Hall over which Hon. B. V. Jadhav presided and another on December 26, 1925, at Amaroti (Amaravati). Maharaj of Kolhapur, Shri Chhatrapati Rajaram Maharaj presided over the '*First Session*', and the '*Second Session*' was presided over by the Raja of Panagal. This again establishes the intimacy of relationship between the two Presidencies on this problem.

The Maharaj of Kolhapur (Shri Rajaram Maharaj) delivered the presidential address in which he explained the origin of the movement in India right from ancient times. " He stated that it was the Kshatriya who not only fought and ruled but who led all social and religious reforms. Those traditions of my Kshatriya order were later on suppressed by the ambitions of the priestly class untill my ancestor, the Great Shivaji Maharaj, revived them in the seventeenth century. The prominent part which my father took in the public movements outside his state was due to the feeling in him that, to be true to the traditions, he was bound to serve the people in every sphere of life."[56]

Speaking on the policy of the British towards the non-Brahmins Shri Rajaram Maharaj said,... "In British India, the policy has always been one of

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54 *The Hindu* ( Madras ), " Non-Brahmin Confederation, Second Day's Proceedings, " December 21, 1925.

55 *Ibid.* December 21, 1925.

56 *The Hindu*, (Madras), Non-Brahmin Social Confederation, '*All-India Session*'-Presidential Address, December 27, 1925.

neutrality in social matters. But I can testify to the good work which is even now done indirectly by tactful and popular rulers like the Governor of my province, I mean His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson, whose great influence is a great support to many a good popular movement. I have no doubt that His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler is no less a social force among you. The backward classes especially, depend largely on the help of persons in such positions as His Excellency today occupies. Co-operation, cordial and all-sided, between the leader's of these classes and the Government is to my mind the surest road along which progress lies. I know your Governor (a reference to Lord Willingdon) is a man of very wide sympathies, ready always to do his best for the people and I am sure that he will do all he can to help the backward and the depressed classes in their efforts to improve themselves in all directions."[57]

The '*Second Session of the All-India Non-Brahmin Congress*' was presided over by the Raja of Panagal. The President began his address with a reference to the loss sustained by the (Congress) with the death of Sir P. T. Chettiar and Dewan Vijaraghavalu Mudaliar. Speaking on the ideals of non-Brahmins, the Raja of Panagal stated :

> "*It was too late in the day for me to defend what has been termed the Non-Brahmin movement. When its activities have spread from Bombay to Madras, from the Vindhya Mountains to Cape Comrin, its very extent and the lightning rapidity with which its principles have pervaded the country will be the best justification of the movement.* The future that our great leader predicted for us in his Presidential address at Hubli in 1920 is come; the time when the movement of love for all and hatred for none, the movement which seeks to afford equal opportunities for all, which makes everyone, whatever his class or community or creed may be, feel that he is a common citizen of the land enjoying equal rights and liberties and exercising such privile-ges, the time when such a movement of all-consuming love shall spread through the whole country carrying its message of hope and peace has arrived at last."[58]

'*The Hindu*' (Madras) had criticised this '*Non-Brahmin Congress.*' When the Raja of Panagal stated that the movement had spread from Bombay to

57 *Ibid.*, December 27, 1925 (Presidential Address).
58 *The Hindu.* (Madras), The Non-Brahmin Congress, Amaroti Session (Second Session), December 27, 1925.

Madras, he refers to the days of H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj, and to the prediction of Shri Shahu Maharaj at the '*Hubli Non-Brahmin Conference*' conducted earlier in 1920. '*The Hindu*' had attacked both Mr. B. V. Jadhav and Raja of Panagal, by stating " the speaker was desiring to produce an effect in another province, forced him to draw rather freely on his imagination "[59] '*The Hindu*' had failed to understand the movement in its right perspective, as the relations between the two movements were behind the curtain, perhaps, largely because Shri Shahu Maharaj himself was averse to the art of publicity as Lord Fraser points out, and H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj himself was not interested to see his name appearing prominently. (Refer Foot Note*) Hence it can be stated that the relation's between the two movements known only to the real originators of the Justice Party, namely Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar, and Sir Ramswami Mudaliar.

Further, the Raja of Panagal continued in his Presidential address... " the times are tenents of this great movement and already I see before me clear and unmistakable signs of the hold that our movement has got over the masses. But let us not be too optimistic. Our opponents, who are always on the alert and accustomed as they are to the niceties of a subtle propaganda carried on too adroitly to poison the minds of the public against us, possessed as they are of the sinews of war and with an over-obliging press too easily accessible and only too willing to help them in this insidious propaganda...they are ever watchful of the opportunity to bring about our down fall. And it is against this, I wish to sound a note of warning. Who does not feel that he should do everything in his power to prevent such a catastrophe overtaking this movement ?"[60] Raja of Panagal was also one of the originators of the movement and one who had the knowledge of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj'. He had attended the '*Nasik Session*' held on April 15, 1920 presided over by Shri Shahu Maharaj. It was Raja of Panagal who hailed the speech "as an epoch-making speech and wanted to get it translated into Telugu and Tamil."[61]

These factors such as :—

a) Shri Shahu Maharaj spreading the Non-Brahmin Movement South wide;

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59 *The Hindu*, ( Madras ), The Non-Brahmin Congress, Editorial, December 28, 1925.

* For anything which took place against a Brahmin anywhere either in Bombay or Madras Presidency, Shri Shahu was blamed for it. In one of the letters written by Shri Shahu to Sir Ramswami Mudliar Shri Shahu has pointed this fact. **Appendix 17.**

60 *The Hindu*, (Madras), '*The Non-Brahmin Congress, Amaroti,*' Second Session, December 27. 1925.

61 Latthe A. B., *Memoirs of H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj*, pp. 595-96.

b) The socio-political thought of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj';

c) The association of Shahu with principal leaders of the Justice Party i. e, Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar, Sir Ramswami Mudaliar and the Raja of Panagal;

d) The timely transfer of Lord Willingdon from Bombay to Madras Presidency.

contributed to the establishment of Justice Party in Madras, because of which "the basic ideologies of the party, which governed its policies, while in power, were largely determined between 1916 and 1920."[62] Hence, in the fifty years since the proclamation of the '*Non-Brahmin Manifesto*' and the founding the of Justice Party, the character of Tamil social and political life has changed fundamentally."[63]

The present social and political thought (**Dravidian**) is certainly different from the socio-political thought which was projected by publishing the '*Non-Brahmin Manifesto*' in the year 1916. The '*Non-Brahmin Manifesto*' had a great influence of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' movement. Further commenting on the unity conferences of the two movements, M.N. Srinivasan points out: "It is interesting to note that a similar move was afoot in Madras Province. The leaders of the '*Non-Brahmin Movement*' in Madras were in touch with their counterparts in Belgaum, Satara and Amaravati. (See the proceedings of the '*First Provincial Conference*' of the '*League of Non Brahmins Youth*' (Central Madras. 1927).[64] " It was only after 1927 when the Justice Party decided to allow its members to join the Congress that large number of non-Brahmins left."[65] By this time the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj ' also suffered a serious set back in Bombay Presidency " because of the non-cooperation in 1930's and the non-Brahminizing (Refer Foot Note*) of the Congress."[66] In Bombay Presidency the

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62 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, 1968, "The Justice Party," 1916-20, Dr. Saraswathi, p. 12.

63 *Ibid.*, Robert L. Hardgrave, " *The Justice Party and Tamil Renaissance*," 1968, P. 73.

64 Srinivas M. N., *Essays on Caste System.* Asia. Foot notes, p. 25.

65 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, Eugene F. Irschick, " The Significance of the Justice Party " pp. 70–71.

66 *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

* **Non–Brahminizing :** implies that upto 1930, the Congress party was called as a party dominated by the Brahmins. Almost all leaders who had a hold on Congress belonged to upper castes. It was since 1930 onwards the ideology of the non–Brahmin movement was included in the programme of the Congress. Besides it also encouraged many non-Brahmins leaders to enter Congress and hold responsible positions in the Congress. This process weakened the non–Brahmin movement in both the Presidencies (Bombay and Madras).

serious set-back to the movement was also due to the rise of the new leader of the backward classes Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Shri Shahu had been considered as a leader of the backward classes, and after his passing away in 1922; Dr. B. R. Ambedkar launched a different movement, (perhaps which was a severe limitation on Shri Rajaram Maharaj as a leader of non-Brahmin movement.) "It was since 1919 that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar came in closer contact with the Maharaj of Kolhapur through Dattoba Powar. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar secured from the Maharaj some help for the fortnightly paper which he started on January 31, 1920, under the title '*Mook Nayak*', (Leader of the Dumb). Although Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was not its official editor, he was the man behind it and he was his mouth-piece. "The '*Kesari*' refused even to announce its publication, even when Tilak was yet alive."[67] On March 21, 1920, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar presided over a '*Conference of the Untouchables*' at Mangaon in Kolhapur State. It was attended by Shri Shahu Maharaj himself. Speaking at this conference the Maharaj declared in a prophetic voice, "you have found your saviour in Ambedkar. I am confident that he will break your shackles. Not only that a time will come when, so whispers my conscience, Ambedkar will shine as a front rank leader of all India fame and appeal."[68]

This prediction of Shri Shahu Maharaj in connection with Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, and the non-Brahmin movement, does infer to the knowledge of Shri Shahu regarding the social reform movements as such. It can also be inferred that the British had always based their policy to-wards all movements on the principle of EXPEDIENCY. Once a movement established its hold they tried to see that it was weakened. Shri Shahu had full realisation of the British policy, and he did realise the future of his non-Brahmin movement, because of which he could predict the future of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. " Further in 1924, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar felt that he should prepare himself to launch his social movement for the uplift of the untouchables, and to achieve his objective he convened a meeting on March 9, 1924, at the Damodar Hall, Bombay, to consider the desirability of establishing a central institution for removing the difficulties of the untouchables. On July 20, 1924 an institution called the ' *Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha* ' was established."[69]

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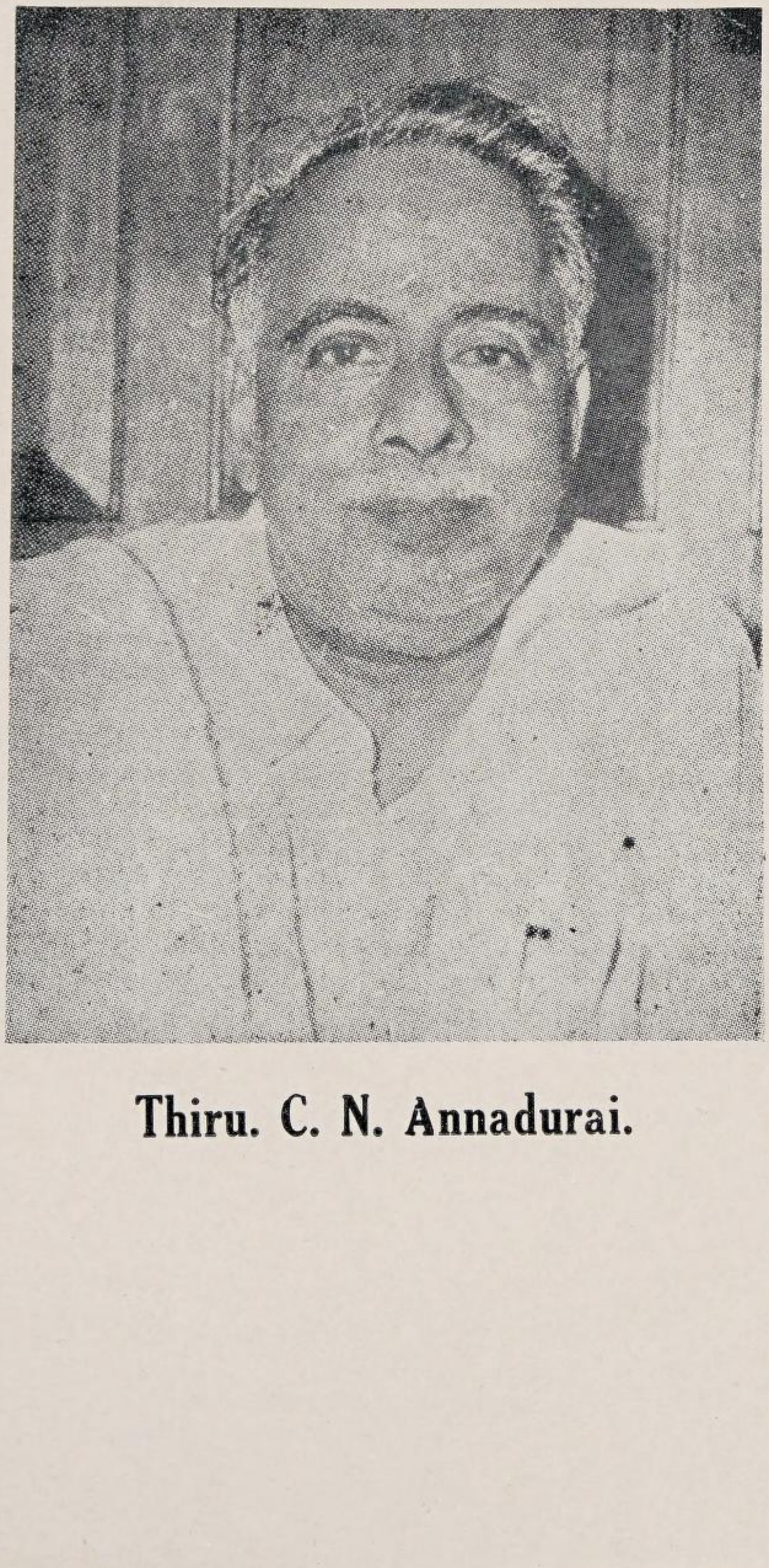
67 D. Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar – Life and Mission,* Popular, Bombay p. 41.
68 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
69 *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55.

Hence the non-Brahmin movements, 'Justice' and 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' had a great influence on each other. This has not been duly noticed by students of the non-Brahmin movement. Besides, it is worthwhile to mention that the two presidencies proceeded on the same lines so far as the Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict is concerned. By 1927, the rise of the nationalist forces in India, and non-Brahminisation of Congress left the movement to find its own way. Since then the two movements moved on different lines and led to the emergence of provincialism in Indian politics. Nationalistic forces were mainly responsible for kindling provincialism which came to have a strong-hold in Southern India, and it did gain grounds in the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. The Justice Party was a weak force during 1927-1937 but it was still a live force, and it was necessary for the Justice leaders to find some dynamic leaders who would carry on the propaganda of the 'Justice' on behalf of the non-Brahmins. It was in this search for dynamic leaders, Thiru. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker was given an opportunity to carry the Justice Party and its ideals all over Madras Presidency. Before trying to assess the D. M. K., movement it may be pointed out that by the 1930's the original Justicities like Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar, the Raja of Panagal were no more to guide the destinies of the Justice Party and by which time 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' was also fading out and the Dravidian philosophy supplemented the Justice Party's propaganda work in Madras. Though the Justice Party suffered much in its initial stages, it did create the ground to further the cause of **'Dravida Kazhgam'** first and the **'Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam'** later. But it should be remembered that **'D. K.'**, and the **'D. M. K.'**, or **A. I. D. M. K.**, have made significant departure from the basic ideology and approach of the **Justice Party.**



Thiru. C. N. Annadurai.

# 7 : THE DRAVIDIAN MOVEMENT AND TAMIL SEPARATISM.

The Justice Party occupies a place of distinction in the non-Brahmin movement in particular and the backward class movement in general. Concerned with bettering the position of the non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency, the Justice Party exemplified the manner in which backward classes all over India tried to improve their economic, political and social position. Of all such attempts, the efforts of the non-Brahmin movement ( the 'Justice' and 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' ) were the most successful. Its legislative programmes and activities aroused considerable interest both in India and England. Both these non-Brahmin movements viz., the 'Justice' and 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' influenced to a great extent the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms.

The anti-Brahmin sentiment in the Madras Presidency was not a new phenomenon. It was present right " from 1885 onwards and V. V. Swaminatha Aiyar (1862-1942) devoted himself to the publication of annotated editions of early Tamil literary works, which he found in the palm leaf manuscripts in private libraries. He published many poems and collections such as *Silappadikaram*, *Manimekalai*, *Jiavakachinta Mani Puranamu* and others as important cultural documents and poems of high merit."[1] " From the earliest time only three major dynasties i. e. the Cheras, the Cholas and Pandyas"[2] are known as *Tamilaram*. It has already been pointed out as to

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1 Spratt P, *D. M. K. in Power*, Nachiketa, Bombay, 1970, p. 4.

2 Refer Subramanian N, *Sangam Polity, The Administration and Social Life of the Sangam Tamils*. Asia, Bombay, 1966, pp. 33-34.

how the kings of these dynasties came in contact with the early Maratha dynasties (see pages 11 & 12). The glories of the Chola, Chera and Pandya dynasties find an important place in the political mythology of Tamil Nadu. Further, the work of the European scholars like Robert Caldwell revealed to the world the past glory of Tamil and the richness of its literature. Brahminical domination over Tamil culture for long centuries had several important consequences for the development of the Tamil language and literature. "Through the tradition of a Brahmin, a heavy increment of Sanskrit was introduced into Tamil, such that by the year 1900 an estimated fifty per cent of the words in the written language were Sanskritcally influenced,"[3] "Finally, the work of Caldwell and Nallaswami Pillai on the origins and nature of 'Dravidian Civilization' had met with a large and growing leadership among first generation of college educated non-Brahmin caste Hindus,"[4] but, as it is accepted by Eugene F. Irschick himself, it did not influence the rise of the Justice Party. Otherwise the Justice Party would have been established twenty years earlier to 1916.

The various publications and efforts made since 1885 by V. V. Swaminatha Aiyar show that the anti-Brahmin sentiment was certainly not a new phenomenon in Madras. In the 1880's and even to a greater extent in 1890's non-Brahmins in many different capacities voiced their concern about the growing number of Brahmans in the public service, in the Indian National Congress, and on the District Boards, and about Brahmans in general as the dominant group in the religious and social life of South India, but "it was not until 1916 that a non-Brahman organization came into existence."[5] It came into existence in 1916, because of the influence of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and Shri Shahu's efforts in Deccan India. The British rule in India set in motion those forces which brought the whole Southern India into a great unity of the non-Brahmins adding to the already existing rivalry between Tilak and Shahu. Right since the early period of the British rule, the lowest castes appreciated the British sense of justice, but were not in a position to take advantage of those opportunities.

It was the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' right since 1873 i. e., during the Jotiba Phule era (1873 to 1890's ) had started training the poor masses to fight for their equal share, and break the shackles of the Brahmin dominance. It was the ' Satya Shodhak Samaj ' which first came out to train the people

3 *The Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, "The Justice Party" (1916-1920), p. 11.
4 Irschick F. Eugene, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*, p. 352.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 351.

(especially through education) and to take advantage of the opportunities that were provided. These forces which were set in motion and popularized by Shri Shahu resulted in establishing the non-Brahmin platform in Madras Presidency on the lines of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' under the '*South Indian Liberal Federation*' with Shri Shahu's close associates Dr. T. M. Nair and Sir P. T. Chettiar as its leaders. At this juncture a question may be posed as to why was it not called the "**Dravidian Association**". This query itself indicates as to why the 'Justice Party' and its leaders, formed an association with a different label. It also suggests that the '**Dravidian**' phase of the movement was not the only basis on which the 'Justice Party' came to be organised. "Most importantly, with the non-Brahmin movement came a new sense of Dravidian self-consciousness and cultural pride."[6] A proper assessment of the Dravidian Movement can be done by dividing the Dravidian Movement into three main phases :

**The First Phase (the Justice Phase) from 1916 to 1925,**

**The Second Phase ... ... ... ... from 1925 to 1949, and**

**The Third Phase ... ... ... ... from 1949 to 1967.**

Each one of these three phases were led by different groups and different leaders. The First phase was led by Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar, Raja of Panagal, and Sir Ramswami Mudaliar. The Second phase was led by Late Periyar E. V. R. Naicker who established the Dravida Kazhgam, which actually led to the Third phase with Late C. N. Annadurai as its leader who established Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam.

### The Justice Phase of the Dravidian Movement : (1916 to 1925)

The Justice phase of the non-Brahmin movement was the first phase, which emerged : "when the time had come, when an attempt was to be made to define the attitude of the several important non-Brahmin Indian communities,"[7] not only in Madras Presidency but also in Bombay Presidency towards what was then called 'The Indian Home Rule Movement.' "The Justice party since 1916 grew largely due to the great volume of public opinion already created in the South India"[8] by H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur. The Justice Party was born in this political climate to express the

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6 *The Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir,* "The Justice Party and the Tamil Renaissance"- Robert Hardgrave, p. 74.

7 *The Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir,* "The Justice Party" 1916-20, p. 11, 1968.

8 *Ibid,* p. 11.

views of the 'Non-Brahmin Castes' in Madras about the constitutional reforms. During this period it shared much with the Bombay Presidency in launching a non–Brahmin movement. It was under the impact of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' "the basic ideologies of the party, which governed its policies while in power, were largely determined during the years of its formation between 1916 and 1920."[9]

It is this aspect which is further examined and also the role of the Justice Party in the first phase, on the basis of which we can determine the influence of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj', if any. It can be observed here that the Justice Party was free from the anti – Brahmin sentiments and also Dravidian ideology, and this can be well established by examining the policy of the non-Brahmin movement (Justice and Satya Shodhak) towards Brahmins. The Justice movement was not a movement of hatred towards the Brahmins, but it had a different purpose altogether and its motto was '*Social reconstruction of the society.*' The 'Satya Shodhak Samaj', ever since its establishment in 1873, had provided a social reformist plank for the non–Brahmins. Shri Shahu made use of the same for spreading the ideology throughout Southern India. It also became the forum from which the Justice Party worked. Certainly there is a vast difference between the Justice Party's policy when compared to the latter phase of the Dravidian movement. So one can clearly assert that the non–Brahmin movement prepared the ground for the Dravidian movement of Madras. It is worthwhile to examine the nature of the present movement i. e., the D. M. K. movement, with in the background of the Justice Party and its policy. It is in with this background that the **Dravida Kazhgam** and **Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam** and the most recent (**All–India Annadurai Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam**) have emerged under the leadership of M. G. Ramchandaran the present Chief–Minister of Tamil Nadu.

**The Justice Party and its Outlook Towards the Brahmins.**

Dr. T. M. Nair, the principal leader of the movement, never fostered communalism. He felt that his critics actually did it, in the sense that they attempted to perpetuate the social, electoral and administrative privileges they had enjoyed all along at the expense of other communities. He was not against Brahmins individually. He enjoyed the friendship of many liberal minded Brahmins. But he was out to overthrow Brahmin domination over other sections. He said "Brahmin predominance in the Councils of the country and in the public service was in the ascendency and this opinion of his was

9 *Ibid.*, J. P. G. J. S. p. 12.

endorsed by thousands in Madras and (other provinces)* as it was proved by their personal experience. He accepted their virtues, but Dr. T. M. Nair protested that others were kept down, that their voice was not always heard by those in power. He was hauled over the coals by a great many for countering the advance of the Indian National Congress and the Home Rule League. Really he and the Justice Party were as earnest about self-government as anybody else, but they felt that self-government could endure, without getting twisted and narrowed into the rule by a section, only when caste supremacy in public was rooted out. The Justice Party strove to instil self-government, courage and pride into the lower castes and the down-trodden and to create a sense of equality in all, as the true and lasting basis of freedom and democracy."[10]

The 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' also advocated the same ever since its inception on September 24. 1873. The aims of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' were:

a ) to emancipate the Sudras from the slavery of the Brahmin;

b ) to free the Sudras from the religious rituals enunciated in the faked books of the Brahmins;

c ) to enable them to understand their rights through advice and education."[11]

Shri Shahu further carried on the Satya Shodhak ideals since 1912. While addressing the '*All-India Depressed Classes Conference*' at Nagpur he stated and broughtforth his typical thoughts on the vexed question of caste system and its bearing on the national movement. " That is a fundamental one", pointed His Highness and stated, "we who are Indian fellow subjects, no matter to what caste or religion we belong, must never forget that we are all Indians... In the same speech he condemned the absurd doctrine that the Brahmin is a living god on earth for whose service all other castes exist. His Highness thanked the British Rule in India and the culture for which that rule stands. Notable Hindus like Dr. T. M. Nair, exposed the cruelty, the inhumanity and the folly of caste in its ' untouchable ' aspects."[12] This shows as

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* Dr. T. M. Nair, refers to Bombay Presidency and the activities of the Satya Shodak Samaj.

10 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir,* Refer "Dr. T. M. Nair," by A. A. Nair.

11 *Shivaji University Journal,* "A Maker of Modern Maharashtra Jotiba Phule", Vol. I, July 1968, p.19.

12 *United India and Indian States* ( Madras ), "A Maharaj on the Reform of Caste", Editorial, Vol.XXII, No.24, 23rd June, 1920, p. 362.

to how the two movements, besides unity among themselves, had also followed an uniform policy and an uniform type of approach.

Further Dr. T. M. Nair's thoughts on these lines can be again examined from the speech which Dr. T. M. Nair delivered at the '*Dravidian Association*' on 26th November, 1916. Never before had the non-Brahmins in such large numbers came together for purposes of, corporate action.

Dr. T. M. Nair declared in his address pointing "education had been denied to the Sudras and only menial duties were assigned to them. The Sudras were also the last of the four castes into which Manu had divided the Hindu society. (It is noteworthy that Dr. T. M. Nair spoke in the context of India as a whole and not in the Dravidian context only.)... Though these divisions are disappearing, the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin division persists. On political and educational grounds, it was necessary for the non-Brahmins to sink all their differences and work as one man for their advancement. The speaker was sure that but for the British rule over India, the non-Brahmins would have continued to remain in a state of veritable intellectual thraldom. Dr. T. M. Nair went on to say that it was indeed a deep debt of gratitude which the non-Brahmin owed to the British Raj. He further pointed that the non-Brahmins did not, of course want to find fault with other communities. Dr. Nair pointed out, to promote education (and the non-Brahmin cause) it should be seen that their own (non-Brahmin) landed aristocracy should be given opportunities of leading them. The non-Brahmin landed aristocracy occupied an important position in the country. They owned a good many large estates and possessed great ability for the management of affairs."[13] Similarly, Shri Shahu speaking at Nagpur said : "non-Brahmin movement felt that it was essential to abolish the very basis of caste system. The abolition of caste, he felt, as a creed was capable of no compromise and delay. Who had asked the Maharaj of Kolhapur, to begin the work of abolition ? The work must mainly fall on the shoulders of those who are at the top of the social structure."[14] So both Dr. T. M. Nair and Shri Shahu shared the same thoughts in policy matters of the movement.

The non-Brahmin movement in both the Presidencies neither fought against, nor pursued a hate-campaign against the Brahmins. What they wanted was that the non-Brahmins should be treated on an equal footing with the

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13 *Madras Mail*, Madras ' The Dravidian Association", November 27, 1916.

14 *United India and Indian States* (Madras), 'A Maharaj on the Reform of Caste' Vol. XXII, No. 24, Wednesday, 23rd June, 1920, p. 363.

Brahmins and others in economic, social and political field. It was not even regional in its approach during its initial period. Instead, it was a movement with an all-India perspective. The first phase of the Justice Party was not characterised by any '**Dravidian Outlook**'. Only its off-shoots the D. K. and the D. M. K. have adopted such a stance. Right from its inception, it was not at all a communal body, but it was out to play a social-reformist role. Perhaps because of its association with the ' Satya Shodhak Samaj ' since its establishment, the Justice Party lacked a political ideology befitting the Tamilian thought, because of which Justice Party developed much disunity within itself, especially by Dr. Natesa Mudaliar. Right from 1916 to 1925, and especially upto the Amaroti Session of 1925, the non-Brahmin movement was not against the Brahmins, and it was closely following the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj', policy. Perhaps this deficiency in the Justice Party's outlook might be a factor responsible for the birth of a large number of other organisations of the non-Brahmins for advocating the non-Brahmin cause, for e. g. the '*Madras Presidency Association*' advocated the cause of the non-Brahmins on a different platform, other than the Justice Party. It was a pro-Congress (*non-Brahmin Association*.)

The Justice Party, despite all these weakness and disunity within itself, enjoyed a majority position and came to power "with 81 seats in 1920, and 61 seats in 1923 the Madras Legislative Council."[15] Refer Foot Note.* In the first general elections in 1920, under the Government of India Act, 1919, the members of the federation formed a single majority party and this enabled them to form a stable ministry, and the reservation of seats for non-Brahmin Hindus was conceded. It was during this period that Lord Willingdon was transferred from Bombay Presidency to Madras Presidency to popularise and remedy the defects of the non-Brahmin movement in that Presidency. Perhaps Lord Willingdon had played his best part in the Bombay Presidency. This fact also indicates as to how the British also helped, in a way, to spread the non-Brahmin movement from Bombay Presidency to the Madras Presidency. It becomes amply clear that the **Justice Phase** was under a heavy influence of the non-Brahmin movement of Bombay Presidency or the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj.' On the one hand it was the British politics, and on the other hand Shri Shahu Maharaj's rise and association with the British and the Indian leaders like Dr. T. M. Nair that had influenced the

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15 Spratt P., *D. M. K. in Power*, p. 28.

* The Madras Presidency gains much by the transfer of Lord Willingdon from Bombay. It is since this transfer the non-Brahmins in Madras Presidency gained much prominence in the political life of Madras Presidency.

Justice Party and its outlook mainly. So it was political as far as the British politics was concerned, and it was a social reform movement so far as the non–Brahmins were concerned. But it was not at all a Dravidian movement.

During the First Phase of the Dravidian Movement (the Justice Phase) the achievements of the Justice Party such as the acceptance of the *Madras University Bill, Andhra University Bill, Hindu Religious Endowments Bill, Government Order, the Communal G. O.*, were not unique to Madras Presidency alone. "The Raja of Panagal was closely following the same principles as guided by the Maharaj of Kolhapur"[16] of Bombay Presidency. In the Bombay Presidency also much was achieved. In August 1919, H. H. Shri Shahu Maharaj by a *'Huzur Order'* directed that educational institutions are to be free to the untouchables as to the touchables. "Any untouchable student joining any state-aided or helped educational institution should be treated respectfully like a gentleman and taken into school rooms. If any man on the state educational staff has any objection to his doing so, he must send in his resignation within six weeks from the receipt of this order." So was the case with regard to the state hospitals "any patient when he goes to the Residential Quarters (of Doctors) should be treated respectfully like a gentleman, taken into the house, be examined carefully and then be sent to the hospital for treatment and not turned out like an animal or beast. If any man on the medical staff has any objection to his doing so, he must send in his resignation within six weeks from the receipt of the order. These orders reveal the depths to which the degradation of untouchables had gone to in Kolhapur."[17]

In Maharashtra the non-Brahmins had legislated upon matters like *The Joshi Bill, The Illegitimate Succession Bill, The Civil Marriage Bill*-all of them introduced by distinguished non-Brahmin members of the Legislature"[18] The Government of Bombay in furtherance of their policy of securing a fair representation to all castes and communities in public services had prescribed a minimum percentage of recruitment from members of Backward Classes in all Departments in the Presidency proper. The schedule attached shows against each locality the classes which are considered by Government to be advanced within that locality and the prescribed minimum

16 Latthe A. B., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 451.

17 *United India and Indian States* (Madras), "Precept and Example" Vol. XXII, No. 24, 23rd June, 1920, p. 364.

18 H. H. Shri Rajaram Chhatrapati Maharaj of Kolhapur-Presidential Address, '*Satara Non-Brahmin Conference*', 1923, p. 9.

percentage of recruitment to the clerical staff from the members of communities other than those mentioned. The appointments are to be made to secure a minimum of recruitment of 'at least' the percentage shown in the final column."[19]

**Schedule**

| Locality | Advanced Communities | Minimum percentage of Recruitment from Backward Communities |
|---|---|---|
| Ahmedabad | Brahmans and Banias | 50% |
| Broach | -do- | 50% |
| Surat | -do- | 53% |
| Kaira | -do- | 50% |
| Thana | Brahman, Banias and Palidars | 50% |
| Central Division | Brahmanas-Prabhus-Parsis and Christians | 60% |
| Bombay Suburban | Brahmanas, Prabhus, and Christians | 33% |
| Bombay City | Brahmans, Prabhus, Banias, Parsis, Marwadis, Palidars, and Christians | 33% |

*Note* : For the purpose of this order 'Saraswats' and 'Shenvis' are to be regarded as Brahmins.

Both in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the non-Brahmin movement made a significant contribution to public life in Southern India. The non-Brahmin movement during the **Justice Phase** in the Madras Presidency played a social reformist role, but it was not communal. In this connection it is worth-while to mention some of the observations on the Justice Party made by Hon. Sir Parasuramadas Patro in the year 1925, which points to the pros and cons of the Justice Party as far as the policy was concerned. These observations on the Justice Party by Hon. Sir Parasuramdas Patro are made in 1925, when almost all the principal leaders of the non-Brahmin movement were no-more. He points to the state of affairs of the

19 *The Hindu* (Madras) 'Backward Classes in Public Service', February 23, 1925.

Justice Party when it had lost its original leaders and how it had degenerated into a party of office hunters.

> " The original leaders of the non-Brahmin movement stood in the main for two principles which were not perhaps consciously elaborated but were implicit in all their endeavours. *First of these principles was the assertion of the need for equality of opportunity to all communities and interests, and second the attacking of vested interests.* The second of these principles led to widespread propaganda work in the field of social reform. The social reform aspect was soon relegated to a very obscure place in the programme of the party and it may be said to have now vanished altogether from the range of politics of the Justice Party. The other ideal principle of wide-eyed and constructive politicians has been resolved into a real democratic movement and many real lovers of the country hold the rise and growth of the non-Brahmin movement as part of such a widespread democratic growth. "

Sir Patro further pointed :

> " without taking advantage of the genuine uprush of popular sentiment which lifted the party headed by the late Dr. T. M. Nair and the late Sir P. T. Chettiar on the crest of a popular wave, without patiently and strenuously constructing and maintaining the party plan, the later protagonists of the movement very soon laid themselves open to the suspicion of being office-hunters and the successors of the Vicar of the Bray, that divine, who will be remembered, made it a principle of adopting any policy for the time being which would keep him as vicar in his living. With every change of Ministry his convictions also underwent a profound change. It has been a reproach levelled, and not without some justification, that to the Justice Party it does not matter what happens and what their political outlook is, so long as a certain number of men are Ministers and so long as limited or rather unlimited number of nominations and appointments are in their gift. "[20]

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20 *Madras Mail*, Madras " Communalism : Past and Future " by a Critical Outlooker, August 14, 1925.

The Justice Party worked on two main lines. Firstly the assertion of the need for equality of opportunity to all communities and interests; and secondly to attack the vested interests, which was the main plank of the non-Brahmin movement. But by 1925, the Justice Party was full of interest-groups, because of which Justicites had failed to agree upon any particular policy. "When the Irrigation Bill was in progress, unexpected changes took place from day today. The democrat of today became the Zamindars' champion of tomorrow and when twisted with his fact, returned to the tenant's camp the day after."[21] "The late lamented Sir P. T. Chettiar in the Pulianthope disturbances manifested his sense of democracy by delicate suggestions to Lord Willingdon that the solution of the problem was the deportation of the depressed classes from the city of Madras. Naturally when such a party is brought face to face with a mass movement like that which has been initiated and stirred up during the last few years, they find their position very awkward." [22]

It is implied here that the Justice Party had failed to organise itself into a mass movement. During the First Phase 1916–1925 it did not work with the Dravidian outlook; and hence it had very little impact on the divided groups of non–Brahmin organisations.

The 'Justice Party' had borrowed much from the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' ideology. Perhaps both grew with mutual support and deteriorated in its influence because of the lack of leadership by losing the principal leaders. Besides this, the Justice Party unlike the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' had not grown in its mass base, because it was strongly supported by the British, and enjoyed office because of communal representation which was possible because of Lord Willingdon's transfer form Bombay Presidency. Whatever may be the case it is to be noted "the elimination of Brahmans from position of political leadership that Justice Party governments represented did not still the anti-Brahminical impulse in Madras politics"[23].

In Bombay Presidency also the Satya Shodhak Samaj was much affected by 1927.

> "In Maharashtra since the early 1920's many non-Brahmins were feeling nationalist impulses, and in the middle of the decade

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21 *Ibid.* August 14, 1925
22 *Ibid.* August 14, 1925
23 Rudolph L. I., "Urban Life and Populist Radicalism : Dravidian Politics in Madras" *Journal of Asian Studies*, XX, May, 1961.

the leadership of the movement passed to a group of young radicals who mounted severe attack on Brahmans,but at the same time defined themselves as nationalists, they argued that the basic conflict was between the Indian masses and their British rulers, but that the Brahman leaders of the national movement only betrayed the nationalist because through their elitism and continuing attachment to caste orthodoxy which served to divide the Indian people, *the leaders of the young non-Brahmin radicals, Keshavarao Jedhe and Dinkararao Javalkar, had by 1926 obtained a statewide reputation. After 1927, Jedhe began to be increasingly attracted by the Indian National Congress as its Gandhian leadership appeared to offer a social reformist alternative that promised to undermine the old dominance of Maharashtrian orthodox Brahmans.* It was this alliance between Jedhe and Gadgil which was given primary credit for leading non-Brahmins into the Congress in 1930 civil disobedience movement and after."[24]

In Madras Presidency the non-Brahmin movement did try to alter the power balance in Tamil society, but the economically well-off groups of castes among non-Brahmins saw the opportunity for political power hidden in British rule. Chettiars, Vellahas, Mudaliars, Naickers and other developed *new caste organisations* which became the basis for the social and economic advancement of their communities. It was because of such disunity that the non-Brahmin movement led by the Justice Party suffered in the First Phase itself, and in 1925, the Justice Party suffered a big set-back with only 22 Justice Party candidates in the Madras Council. It was after these elections to the Madras Legislative Council in 1926, that the Justice Party felt the need for developing a mass-base. The Justice Party during its first phase was a movement which was confined only to the elites among the Tamil non-Brahmin society.

The non-Brahmin movement in Madras during 1916-1925 was much concerned with the immediate results and was very much bent upon grabbing political power. This craze for power was responsible for developing some weaknesses in the Justice Party. It was after 1925, "the British started becoming reluctant to share power with the non-Brahmins because of the rise of the Congress movement in the rest of India and the Justice Party was

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24 *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. VI, No. 37, September 11, 1971, p. 21.

pushed aside for a time,"[25] and this is the turning point with which the first phase ends, because of which the Justice Party was in search of an ideology of its own. The Justice Party's responsibility fell on the shoulders of "Ramswami Naicker who broke with the Indian National Congress in 1925...essentially as a result of his insistence on a show-down between Brahmans and non-Brahmans, told the party caucus, it was foolish to act as if there were no divisions between Brahman and non-Brahman."[26]

With the arrival of Periar E. V. R. Naicker in 1925, Justice Party departed from its original path and adopted a new ideology for the non-Brahmin Movement i. e., " *SWAYAM MARYADE* " or ' *Self-Respect.* ' " Although explictly formulated by E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker in 1925, its seeds once again go back to the ' Satya Shodhak Samaj ' founded in 1875 by Jotiba Phule, a leader from the Mali caste of Poona in peninsular India."[27] " It is this which gave the *Politics of South India* ( including Maharashtra but probably excluding Kerala ) its distinctive character when compared with the politics of the *North.*" [28]

**The Second Phase of the Dravidian Movement (1925 to 1949)**

The 'Self-Respect' movement of Periyar E.V.R.Naicker was a departure from the original lines of non-Brahmin movement. "Unlike the Justice Party, the Self-Respect movement was popular in its appeal. Though it began as a social reform movement, its effects were ultimately profoundly political."[29] Naicker shed his radicalism, and though there was little in common between him and the sedate, pious Justice Party leaders, co-operation among them was not entirely impossible. Even when he was a Congressman, before 1924, he had frequented their company, and had been treated with some consideration."[30] It was with the launching of the 'Self-Respect' movement the non-Brahmin movement departed from its original policy in favour of the *Dravidian Movement.* It is this aspect of the Justice Party's interest in developing a mass orientation that the *Dravidian Movement* was launched. Under E. V. R. Naicker, " the movement was pronouncedly anti-Brahmin, and encouraged non-Brahmins not to call upon Brahmin priests to perform weddings and other rituals. Its followers were required to use

25 Paul Younger, "Tamil Nadu the Quiet Septic," *The Illustrated Weekly of India,* Vol. XCII, February 14, 1971, p.43.
26 Irschick F. Eugene, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India,* Oxford P. 330.
27 Srinivas M. N., *Social Change in India,* Orient Longman, Delhi, 1972, p. 105.
28 Andre Beteille, *Castes Old and New.* Oxford, Bombay, 1966, p. 164.
29 Irschick F. Eugene, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India,* p. 330.
30 Spratt P., *D. M. K. in Power,* p. 33.

the Tamil language for political and other purposes and to regard themselves as *Dravidians* and members of a sovereign, independent state. From a social reform movement during the Justice era, the movement became anti-Brahmin, anti-north, anti-God."[31] Thus the movement becomes sharply anti-Brahmin under E. V. R. Naicker who was determined to wipe out not only the position and power which Brahmins had accumulated but the whole religious structure through which they had derived that power."[32] Periar E. V. R. Naicker, cutting off from the Congress spread the gospel of social equality and the crying need for socialism were penned in the columns of his paper and about a thousand platforms by himself and his band of adherents. " Though not actually a Justicite, he was aligning himself unofficially and aligning his creed with that of party's."[33] His movement made attempts to get rid of the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil literature, and replace it with Tamil. In 1928 when the Simon Commission was announced and the Justicites were undecided, it was the bold Periar that asked the party to welcome it with warmth. There were various conferences of the Self-Respect, movement held at Chinglepet (1928), Erode (1930) in which he advocated abolition of the caste system, abandoning of caste titles, eschewing priest-hood and similar other social reforms. It is worthwhile to mention here some of his typical thoughts no casteism.

Speaking at the '*First North Arcot District Adi-Dravidas Conference*' on 6th July 1937, he said that Adi-Dravidas would never advance as long as they clung to Hinduism. Even Christianity and Buddhism could not afford them any relief, as Christian and Buddhist, Adi-Dravidas were treated as untouchables by their co-religionists. Islam can alone get Adi-Dravidas salvation. If any one called an Adi-Dravida converted to Islam, as a 'Pariah-Muslim' he would be beaten... Continuing he said that caste Hinduism would come to terms, if as an experiment, some 500 Adi-Dravidas threatened to become Muslims. "[34] This speaks of the radical thoughts of Periar E. V. R. Naicker " which in late twenties and early thirties gained a measure of popular appeal under the leadership of the Non-Brahmin ex-Congressman. "[35] "The Justice leadership was not anti-religion or anti-Hindu."[36] " The Justice

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31 Srinivas M. N., *Social Change in India*, p. 105.

32 Paul Younger, "Tamil Nadu-The Quiet Sceptic," *Illustrated Weekly*, Vol. XCII. 7. Feb. 14. 1971, p. 43.

33 Balasubramanian K. N., *Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy*, Self-Respect Propaganda Institution. Trichy, 1973, p. 21.

34 *Justice*, Madras " Justice Party's Service to the Depressed Class ", 11th July, 1937.

35 Andre Beteille, *Caste Old and New*, Asia, Bombay, 1969, p. 60.

36 Mohan Ram, *Hindi Against India*, Rachna Prakashan, New Delhi, 1968, p. 73.

Party had now become a Tamil movement, having lost its multi-lingual character with the fading out of stalwarts,"[37] like Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar, the Raja of Panagal. " However as the influence of Justice Party declined, the influence of Naicker [E.V.R.] increased."[38]

It was the protest in the 1930's against the compulsory study of Hindi which gave a new direction in Tamilnadu to the political awakening of the time, but the political fading out of the Justice Party politically reflected the growing strength of the anti-British sentiment, as reflected in the slogan against the ' British-Bania-Brahmin' triple Alliance. It was Rajagopalachari, a leader of Hindi movement in the South, who tried to force Hindi schools upon the people. This forced the transformation of the Justice Party's ideals to the Dravidian ideals, and a movement was launched, which coincided with the failure of the Justice in 1936 elections, in which though Periar E. V. R. Naicker led the movement " the pragmatic Tamils gave only a limited measure of support to this radical approach and the Dravidian movement fell into disarray until (Late) C. N. Annadurai, a more pragmatic follower of Naicker, broke with him and formed the D. M. K.-(**Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam**.) " [39] Perhaps the birth of Third Phase was prior to the end of the Second Phase, because " Annadurai joined the Justice Party in 1935 and is known to have played a key role in bringing about the much needed split in the Justice Party at the ' *Salem Conference* ' in 1944 so that Naicker could reorganise it into ' **Dravida Kazhgam** ' along the lines of his liking. "[40]

C. N. Annadurai's thoughts on the need for and the purpose of a political party, were expressed as early as 1937 itself, when he spoke at Parvalipur on 2nd February, 1937. C. N. Annadurai stated " any political party, if it is to serve the interests of the country aright, should have a definite policy, detailed programme and last but not least in importance, a method of effectively carrying out its programme. For it is easier to present paper schemes for the elections, but the duty of voter is to make himself sure whether there is enough machinery to translate the bold promises into actual realities."[41] C. N. Anna (elder brother) as he was popularly known, had his own views regarding a

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37 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
38 Spratt P., *D. M. K. in Power*, P. 33.
39 Paul Younger, ' *Tamil Nadu the Quiet Sceptic* ', *Illustrated Weekly*, Vol. XCII,7. Feb. 14. 1971, p. 43.
40 Mohan Ram, *Hindi Against India*, New Delhi, 1968. p. 84.
41 *Justice*, Madras, " Mr. C. N. Annadurai's Speech at Parvalipur," February 3, 1937.

political party, exhibited a volcanic spirit which was latent in him. Annadurai, since he joined the movement, had his own distinct thoughts over every issue, he had his own approach to the *Dravidian* movement. He thought it was missing in it. Annadurai, had something new to contribute whenever he spoke. C. N. Annadura's thoughts on Hindi issue can be noticed, when the citizens of Madras assembled at the public meeting to protest against compulsory introduction of Hindi and the Congress Ministry's move on September 5th, 1937, at Soundarya Mahal, there were various speakers for the occasion. Mr. Somasundra Bharathi, a staunch Congressman and a life-member of the Hindi Prachar Sabha, who was in the chair, pointed out the defects in the Congressmen's programme in this regard. Mr. C.N. Annadurai speaking on this occasion said he doubted very much whether they would succeed if they approached the question from a detached point of view. He called upon them to look at it from the political point of view as well. Mr. C. N. Annadurai further observes that he was not at all surprised at the policy of the Congress Ministry when it ventured to introduce Hindi as a compulsory subject, because he knew it already. He explained to the public as to how "Mr. Rajagopalchari had translated those ideas into action. It was said that there were roughly eight thousand secondary schools in the (Madras) Presidency. If Hindi was to be taught compulsorily in all these schools, at least eight thousand Hindi teachers would be required, and it was needless for him to say who would be those eight thousand teachers (*Voices–Brahmins*). Then, the result was obvious, and it was not difficult to see that those eight thousand teachers would do for the Congress, and who would win the next election."[42]

Annadurai had his own approach to different problems, and when he spoke, his power of oratory and falicity enabled people to follow him. Even the followers of Periar E. V. R. Naicker began to admire C. N. Annadurai. Consequently within the rank and file of the '**Self Respect Movement**' as a whole, C. N. Annadurai came to be admired. Annadurai had constructive approaches to **Tamilian** politics. Perhaps Annadurai knew that the antics of militant anti–Brahminism : such as burning of sacred books, desecrating the idol would pay little as far as the popularity of the Party was concerned. The various speeches infer as how C. N. Annadurai differed from E. V. R. Naicker's tactics. This further led to discussions in the (Self–Respect) movement.

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42 *Justice*, Madras, 'Detrimental to the Interests of Tamil Language and Culture', September 6, 1937.

The Self-Respect movement did fail to achieve what it desired to achieve, because the movement did not grow to the required strength. Periar E. V. R. Naicker, with the aim of constructing a mass-base for the non-Brahmin Justice Party, led the movement on his own lines of policy and programmes and even by 1942, Periar E. V. R. Naicker had not gained enough confidence to contest elections on the (Self-Respect) plank.

This aspect can be better appreciated by examining the statements of the delegation led by Periar E. V. R. Naicker to meet Sir Stafford Cripps. The note he submitted is also worth-while to be reproduced here. The delegation consisted of Periar E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, Sir Muthiah Chettiar, Mr. N. R. Sammiappa Mudaliar and Mr. W. P. A. Soundrapandia Nadar.

**Letter No. 466 L/P. C. J./10/4 : 56.**

> The delegationists "pointed that they represented a large proportion of the provincial population but that owing to lack of education and of wealth and opportunity, they were unable in any election to stand up against the more wealthy and powerful Brahmin population which, though only a small percentage in number, have a great deal of power. They took the view that it would be in the interests of the population of Madras to secede from the main Union in order to have a Union of their own, in which they might then hope that the non-Brahmin Hindu would get power. *But they realised that there was no possible way of achieving this non-accession either by a vote of the legislative assembly or by a plebiscite since in both cases the more powerful elements would be able to persuade the majority of the population to vote with them.* The only method they could suggest was to set up immediately separate electorates on such a scale as to give them automatically the majority in the province. Sir Stafford Cripps pointed out that this was a wholly impracticable suggestion and that it would raise the whole question of communal electorates as well, *and that until such time as they could persuade the people of Madras to vote in their favour it was not possible within any democratic method at all to give them that majority which they desired.* They appreciated this situation but were nevertheless insistent that something should be done to assist them. I pointed out as

sympathetically as possible, that in the existing circumstances there was nothing we could do."[43]

This letter brings out two facts regarding the position of the Justice Party by 1942 under the leadership of Periar E. V. R. Naicker, and it also indicates the manner in which the British had changed their policy towards non-Brahmin movement. The British had changed their policy towards India also because of the impact of the Japanese war and their victories in South East Asia early in 1942. It is clear that Periar E. V. R. Naicker could not play the pro-British role better, nor the anti-British role. It is after this interview that Periar E. V. R. Naicker came out with his concept of **Dravida Nadu**, ( the land of the **Dravidas** ) which was to include the four southern regions speaking the Dravidian languages.

On the other hand Mr. C. N. Annadurai, who had by now become an influential member, instead pressed for a policy more in accord with the nationalist sentiment. It was the social reformist element of the 'Justice Party' that had influenced Mr. C. N. Annadurai most. With this divergence of opinion between C. N. Annadurai and Periar E.V.R. Naicker the break up in the Justice Party was inevitable. At the '*Salem Conference*' in 1944 the split in the Party led to the formation of the **'Dravida Kazhgam.'** The Justice Party, during its long inning in office had to soften its anti-Brahminism because of the influence and the sense of unity from Bombay Presidency. As Sir Parasuramdas Patro- noted "*they copied the programmes of other parties.*"[44] (Here a reference is made to the influence of Satya Shodhak Samaj.) Once the Justice phase ( 1916 to 1925) came to an end, the Justice party relied more on Periar E. V. R. Naicker who cherished the **'Dravidian.'** theory. But Periar failed after 1944, " to consolidate the righthand man when *Dravida Kazhgam* was formed, and found he could not go along with his mentor in the latter's uncompromising opposition to everything that was then taking place in the nation's politics. In 1949, the final break came between the ( teacher and the disciple ) when Periar E. V. R. Naicker decided to marry Mani Ammaiyar, who was years younger to him.[45] " It is generally still believed that the main issue for the spilit between C. N. Annadurai and Periyar E. V. R. Naicker was his marrying with Mani

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43 *Note* by Sir S. Cripps, *The Transfer of Power*, 1942 – 47, Vol. I, **Letter No. 466. L/PCJ/10/4 : 56** ( Interview with Justice Party : Madras on 30th March, 1942. )

44 *Madras Mail*, Madras, Communalism : Past and Future, by Critical Onlooker, August 14, 1925.

45 *Weekly Round Table*, New Delhi, D. M. K., Before and After Split. December 3, 1972, p. 2.

Ammaiyar; but the background of spilt was the difference of opinion between the two leaders of non–Brahmin movement. It seems that Late C. N. Annadurai was basically opposed to the methods used by Periyar E. V. R. Naicker. It was Late C. N. Annadurai who imbibed the required nationalistic sentiments in this movement, because of which he could succeed in bringing D. M. K. in power. Late C. N. Annadurai certainly developed the required mass base.

**Third Phase of the Dravidian Movement ( 1949 to 1967 )**

C. N. Annadurai felt "Brahmin - baiting was of little use as far as the cause of the non - Brahmins was concerned. He had no disire to widen the gulf on colour lines which Periar E. V. R. Naicker exploited by pointing out that ' *The Ramayana* ' is based upon the very substance of Hindu mythology, in which Rama's march towards South, calling king Ravana - abducter of Sita - is to point Aryan triumphs - and progress over the Dravidians ( inhabitants of India ). To the non–Brahmin the legions of monkey Rama encounters in the southern jungles appear to be none other than the Dravidians."[46] "Instead Annadurai tried to project a secular image of itself without compromising its Dravidian character, whatever it meant. The D. M. K. had to retain its Tamil Chauvinist, anti–Brahmin image but could afford to estrange the Brahmin voter."[47]

It was this aspect on which C. N. Annadurai was much worried, when he worked in the Justice campaigns led by E. V. R. Naicker as early as 1937. Speaking at young 'Justicites League' on February 10, 1937, he had pointed "The party stood for communal justice and it could, not be called an anti-Brahmin party."[48] Annadurai did not de–Sanskritise, but he inspired and enlightened the people to the effects of the Brahmin domination. He played the role of a Bernard Shaw, preaching the people through his stories staged in the form of dramas and films which brought about a real awakening among the masses. His approach as already stated, differed from that of Periar E.V.R. Naicker. "He pushed his ideas through 'Films' gossip which inevitably got mixed up with political gossip and Tamil newspapers and magazines began devoting more and more place to the intrigue and behind–the–scene activities of the film world. The leaders for their part became involved in all this, in due course

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46 Harrison, Selig, *India : The Most Dangerous Decades*, p. 127.
47 *The Hindu*, (Madras) June 22, 1956.
48 *The Hindu*, (Madras) Justice Campaign, February 12, 1937.

even their thinking became film-oriented. "[49] In Tamil Nadu the relevance of New Delhi imposing Hindi as the sole official language brought among the Tamilians the (required) unity which they had searched for between the 1957 and 1962 elections. The D.M.K.'s main campaign was against the imposition of Hindi and in 1962, it recorded impressive gains, trebling the number of seats in Assembly and doubling its vote. "[50]

With C. N. Annadurai's leadership and the formation of the D. M. K. the mainstream of Tamil thought had found a political vehicle, and a more positive phase in the **'Dravidian Movement'** began, which can be considerd different from Periar E. V. R. Naicker's. In the eight years from its founding in 1959 to its assumption of power in 1967, the D. M. K., had to convince the Tamil electrorate on two counts. First, it had to convince the electrorate that in the propagation of Tamil tradition, its central concern was the common man. Annadurai's concern for the common man was soon clear and within a few years both the leaders and supporters of the D. M. K. were clearly the representatives of the Tamil masses. " C. N. Annadurai, risen from the regional politics, made a considerable impact on the Rajya Sabha in New Delhi. Annadurai could have played the role of regional eminence, but he pointed that at the end of the commonalty of foreign bondage, the quilt of political leadership in the different regions was found to change its colour. He told Delhi on the Hindi issue and yet made it clear that his allegience to the country as a whole was beyond doubt."[51] His personality had got integrated with the D. M. K., to such an extent, that when the 16th Amendment was brought to the Constitution of India, making it illegal to advocate the secession of any territory from India, Anna had such a hold on the D.M.K. party that under his guidance the D. M. K. disavowed the demand for the secession of Tamilnad from the Indian Union, thereby dropping the secession clause from its own Constitution. " C. N. Annadurai seemed to have worked out a balance between regionalism and national purpose",[55] observed Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India.

The victory of '*Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam*' over the Congress in 1967 elections and the formation of the Government by C. N. Annadurai in

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49 *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Vol. XCIII, November, 1972, "Karunanidhi Vs. M. G. R." by R. G. K., p. 14.

50 *Weekly Round Table*, New Delhi, D. M. K., Before and After Split, December 3, 1972 p. 9.

51 *Capital*, "A Ditchers Diary", 6th February, 1967, p. 241.

52 *The Economist*, " Annadurai ", 8th February, 1969.

Tamilnadu marked the apogee of that movement for political power and "*Dravidian Uplift.*" It is difficult to determine the date of the beginning of the *Tamil Renaissance,* as Robert L. Hardgrave points, but he states "It begins in the later part of the nineteenth century which came considerably after the Bengal awakening."[53]

But on an examination of the influence that ' Satya Shodhak Samaj' had in Madras Presidency, and the comparative analysis of the two movements in respect of the periods, the social thought and approaches of the ' Justice' and 'Satya Shodhak Samaj', especialy between 1916–1925, it would be clear that the beginnings of the '*Tamil Renaissance*' were in the early part of the twentieth century. The ' Satya Shodhak Samaj ' influence in Madras Presidency during its First Phase also prepared the ground for the **'Self–Respect Movement'**, which became the **'Dravida Kazhgam'** and the **'Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam** ' changing its ideology from non–Brahmin to the (*Tamilian*) interests. So in the second and third phase, the spirit of (*Tamil Renaissance*) was carried on to revive the past glory of the **Dravidian** culture. But as Andre Beteille observes, "it would be a mistake to minimize the role of the Justice Party, which not only prepared the ground for the induction of new social strata into political system but also created a distinctive ideology for South Indian politics."[54] The London Times of February 12, 1925, also noted that "*His Highness (Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur) prepared the ground from which there sprang the Non–Brahmin revolt, particularly in Madras and the Deccan.*"[55]

After India's Independence, "the **'Dravida Kazhgam'** and **'Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam'** deepened and broadened their political appeal by linking, it to themes of northern domination and Hindi hegemony."[56] By this it becomes clear that the non–Brahmin movement had a different political history to be examined, and one has to state that the non–Brahmin movement of Madras *is a part of the regeneration of the non–Brahmin movement in Southern India,* which had a big impact on the areas wherever Brahmin domination was felt. The non–Brahmin movement under the late lamented leaders like Jotiba Phule, Shri Shahu Maharaj, Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T.

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53 *Justice Party Golden Jubilee Souvenir,* 1968, " Justice Party and Tamil Renaissance ", By Robert L. Hardgrave p. 73.

54 Andre Beteille, *"Castes Old and New",* p.178.

55 *The London Times,* 'The Prince, Feb 12, 1925.

56 Rudolph, "Urban Life and Populist Radicalism", Dravidian Politics in Madras, *Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol.XX, May 1961.

Chettiar, Raja of Panagal, Sir Ramswami Mudaliar, and Hon. A. P. Patro had considered social reform as the bed-rock of the movement.

Besides, the role which these leaders played in the non-Brahmin movement as social reformists had a profound influence on late C. N. Annadurai's mind, and Anna was more attracted by the activities of Justice Party. "In Madras, when he joined the Pachaiyappa's College he was encouraged by strong Justice professors like M. Vardharajam and V. Thiru-Venkataswami."[57] With these influences, he joined the **Self-Respectors,** having no other alternative; because Justice Party was no longer active. But he was influenced more by the activities and objectives of the Justice Party, rather than the '**Self-Respect Movement**' of Periar E.V.R. Naicker. He participated very actively in the '**Self-Respect Movement**' as there was no any other alternative left for him. But C. N. Annadurai had all the required knowledge of how Justice party served, unlike the '**Self-Respect Movement**' which only attacked and criticised the Brahmins. Social Reforms being the main work of the Justice Party during its long innings in office, he felt attacks on Hinduism as such, did not help or advance social reform. With these influences and thoughts, he formed the D. M. K., besides his disapproval of the marriage of E.V.R. Naicker. A split within the '**Self-Respect Movement**' was visible ever since Anna's image was growing. Perhaps C. N. Annadurai was Jotiba Phule of Tamil nadu.

It is unfortunate that Shri Shahu and his contribution to the non-Brahmin movement has been neglected by various scholars, but it should be noted that it has a continuous history right from Jotiba Phule to the present. It may be in the form of *Dravida Kazhgam*, *Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam* or even *Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam* and of the most recent *All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam.* But one cannot deny the influence of ' Satya Shodhak Samaj ' and its impact because of which the non-Brahmin movement spread in South India and **regenerated** the **Non-Brahmin Movement** of Tamil nadu.

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57 *The Modern Rationalist :* 'Anna-A Great Rationalist', Vol. I, No. 2, A. P. Janarthanam, M. L. C., Madras, October, 1971, p. 5.

# 8 : THE NON-BRAHMIN REGENERATION

**(An Assessment)**

The role of the Justice Party in non-Brahmin regeneration cannot be underestimated because it provided the very basis for the birth of the **Dravidian** movement. Every new movement in the world, however progressive it may be, passes through various stages of cavil and abuses, misunderstanding and misrepresentation before it succeeds in its aims and ambitions. No wonder, the non-Brahmin movement which is manifest today as the Dravidian movement, viz., the D. K., and the D. M. K., had to pass through the classical experiences known to history before it succeeded in revetting its attention upon its aims.

To examine the origins of this movement it is necessary to go into the genesis of the movement itself, specially into the historical and ethnical aspects of the mutual relations that existed between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins. The conflict between the two ( Brahmana-Non-Brahmana ) is as old as the caste system itself. The study of the conflict between the Brahmin and non-Brahmin can be scientifically understood in the perspective of the Vedic period. The non-Brahmin movement which became strong under the British period was not without specific background. Though the roots of this problem can be traced back to the Rig-Vedic period, the conflict between these two groups during the pre-British period, was one of traditional politics. The study presents a very unique picture of the traditional politics of the caste system during this period. Indian politics of the twentieth century is essentially agitational politics; but it has been certainly influenced

by the traditional politics during the pre-British period, when the conflict became wider.

Indian politics to-day involves mass-communication, organisation of formal parties, ideological indoctrination, elections and civil-disobedience. But the present agitational politics of India has roots in the traditional politics of the pre-British India, which has been influenced for centuries, viz., since Rig Veda period. Hence non-Brahmin movement has to be also understood in this background and the march of the caste system through ages to the twentieth century.

Under the British, Indian politics was quite different from that of the politics in the pre-British period, but there was no difference whatsoever in the position enjoyed by the Brahmins. It has been the same always. Before the advent of the British, the history of India was full of social reform movements, and most of these movements originated with the sole purpose of checking the dominance and evils of the caste system in the Hindu society. Various movements like Buddhism, Jainism, Veerashaivism, Aryasamaj, Brahmo Samaj and Missions of various kinds came forward with their own programmes for reforms. In turn these movements resulted in adding further to the divisions of the Hindu society. Even under the impact of Islam or under Moghal invasion's the caste system went unheeded. The Moghal Empire had a hard time with the Marathas, which again led to the establishment of the Brahminical hold over the Hindu society. Perhaps Brahminism flourished and spread in all those areas where Shivaji established his kingdom. (Refer Map) which illustrates the areas under the Maratha empire and which in the latter period became the areas of Brahminical dominance. The areas which fell under the British rule were also the areas under the Maratha empire. The downfall of the Maratha empire resulted in the expansion of the British rule in India.

Under the British rule the Brahminical influence again enhanced, because the British who were in search of loyal administrators relied much on the high castes. The British could look for collaboration of a more instructed sort from those men who were being educated in their schools and colleges. Like other alien regimes before them, the British required collaboration from a large body of native Bureaucrats, who were mainly Brahmins. "Under this impact the first revolt against the Brahmins took place in 1875, when the Maratha peasants of Poona and Ahmadnagar broke heads and contracts in a series of free for all ... the peasants faced with mounting

debts and shrinking fields, they marched, not against the foreigner, but against the landowners and money-lenders,"[1] who were mainly Brahmins. It was this rising known as the **Deccan Roits** that not only made a great impact, but also sowed the seeds of the non-Brahmin movement. On a scientific study of the non-Brahmin movement one can conclude that the origin of this movement was not merely because of the "Divide and Rule" policy of the British. Under the British rule, there were various types of collaborations, and no movement in this period can be classified as nationalistic or anti-nationalistic, but the non-Brahmin movement was classified as anti-Swarajist movement.

The non-Brahmin movement was one which to a large extent the result of the awakening among the Indians under the impact of Western education. Under the British rule, the missionaries also played an important role in the development of socio-political thought, especially in Maharashtra and Madras. The British rule had foreseen that introduction of English education would go a deep way in influencing the religious beliefs, because of which "the company was not only reluctant to introduce English education, it also tried deliberately not to influence Indian customs or religious beliefs since it felt that to do so might upset the Indians and interfere with profits."[2] The missionaries who followed the English rule in India, no doubt were much interested in the spread of Christianity, because of which the lower classes, for the first time had been treated with sympathy. Touched by these influences and the treatment meted out to the untouchables by the high castes, Jotiba Phule who felt the contrast in the missionaries treatment decided, to advocate the cause of the downtrodden sections of the society. In this direction, Jotiba Phule was the first to write angry attacks on the caste system. Jotiba Phule was a man of great vision, who felt that unless the weaker section of the society were made conscious of human dignity and its strength, India would never progress. Philip Spratt has very aptly pointed out,

> *" a partial exception is Jotiba Phule who wrote angry attacks on Hinduism half a century before Mr. Naicker.* [E. V. R.] *He had little influence in his time, but he is the original source of the Non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra. It is possible, but unlikely that Mr. Naicker.* [E.V.R.] *owes something to Phule."*[3]

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1 Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism : Competition and Collaboration in Later 19th Century,* Cambridge University Press, 1965, pp. 12–13.

2 Lamb B. Pitney, *The Nehrus of India,* Macmillan, New York, 1967, p.31.

3 Spratt P., *D.M.K. in Power,* Nachiketa Publication, Bombay, 1970, Refer footnotes, p.31.

The study of the non-Brahmin movement, therefore cannot be separated from the role played by Jotiba Phule in the late nineteenth century. The first exponent of this school of thought was Jotiba Phule. He whole heartedly welcomed Western education. Jotiba Phule traced the causes for the back-wardness of the Hindu social structure. Caste system had proved a great hinderance in the path of individual's progress. He was much influenced by the liberal approach of Western culture and the attitude of the missionaries towards the backward people. He had all praise for the British, and he himself started a social reform movement, the well-known 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' movement. Jotiba Phule was not interested in merely bringing about a change in the religious practices. He wanted to eradicate Brahminism which according to him, was the sole cause for perpetuating social inequality. He felt that various reform movements or Samaj's (societies) advocated social reforms without giving up their Brahminical interpretations. To advocate his ideals, Jotiba Phule felt the need for an institution, and on 24th September 1873, he established the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' (The Truth-Seeking Society). The 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' under his leadership awakened the masses everywhere. He advocated social reforms which came to have a deep impact on and implications for the British policy itself. The impact of the rise of Jotiba Phule's movement should be clearly understood by examining the British policy towards non-Brahmin risings. Jotiba Phule's influence during the 1840's may be negligible in so far as public following is concerned, but his influence on British policy was immense.

**Satya Shodhak Samaj Vis-a-vis British Policy**

The British policy in India was much influenced by the rise of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj'. British could learn that the Brahmins on whom they had relied much in the initial period, were not loyal and hence the British thought of helping the cause of the non-Brahmins. Besides this, "the European Missionaries have [had] testified to the hold of the Brahmins over the bulk of Hindus and this had to be broken if Christianity was to make headway in India."[4] In these circumstances, the social thought advocated by Jotiba Phule came to have a large following, and for the first time the non-Brahmins, the down-trodden and the backward classes could find a leader of their own community. The British had relied much upon the members of the upper caste who had been exposed most to the western education in the British commercial companies, administrative services and

4 Srinivas M. N., Caste in Modern India, *Journal of Asian Studies*, August 1957, p. 532.

colleges. Realising the role played by Jotiba Phule and the wide awakening he had created, the British rule in India was pressed upon to alter and change their outlook towards Indian politics. It was this situation which influenced British politics, and because of which, in the latter period they decided to rely much on the non-Brahmins. During the 1900's the British rule was also influenced by the growing nationalist movement which was dominated by the higher castes. In terms of social background there was little difference between the early nationalists and the Indians who served the British as partners and subordinates. "Both those who agitated for reform and those who collaborated with the British were drawn from the groups which traditionally enjoyed high status."[5] Under these circumstances the British, fearing the growth of the nationalist movement, thought of relying upon various other political forces, and the non-Brahmin factor was considered important for the stability of the British rule in India. It does not mean that the "Divide and Rule" policy of the British was the only factor responsible for the birth of a non-Brahmin movement, because one cannot deny that it was felt equally essential by reformers like Jotiba Phule and Shri Shahu to break the caste hold on the society which had affected the social progress of the Hindu society. Perhaps the masses saw in this movement a better opportunity for revolting against the age-old caste system.

Philip Spratt is therefore, right in looking upon Jotiba Phule as the original source of inspiration for the non-Brahmin movement, but whether E. V. R. Naicker owed anything to Jotiba-Phule is to be examined. This aspect of Philip Spratt's opinion provides the ground for further research. If the non-Brahmin movement is scientifically examined, it is felt that in the history of this movement there is scope and need for studying the period especially from 1900 to 1922 (i. e. the Shahu era). In the absence of such a study, many scholars on this movement have not been able to calculate and understand the movement in its proper perspective. It is this aspect on which this study tries to throw much light and seeks to establish the unity which prevailed between Shri Shahu and the leaders of the Justice Party like Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar and others.

Philip Spratt in his study ( D. M. K. in Power ) has expressed a doubt whether E. V. R. Naicker was influenced by Jotiba Phule of Maharashtra at all. Whether Periar E. V. R. Naicker who was a prominent figure in the Dravidian movement (of which the *Dravida Kazhgam* and *Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam* are

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5 Maclane John R., *The Political Awakening in India.* London, 1970, pp. 1-2.

the off-shoots ) owed anything to Jotiba Phule is yet to be assessed, but one cannot deny the fact that the Justice Party owes much, if not to the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' of Jotiba Phule, but certainly to Shri Shahu's 'Satya Shodhak Samaj'. In this direction it can be stated that if Periar's *Dravidian* movement owes something to the Justice Party, then certainly E. V. R. Naicker owes much to Jotiba Phule. On an analysis of the non-Brahmin movement in its proper perspectives, it may be noted that in the history of the non-Brahmin movement, after Jotiba Phule follows the glorious role and period of Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur who worked on the ideals of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' as laid down by Jotiba Phule. Shri Shahu's contribution to the propagation of the non-Brahmin cause was un-noticed largely due to the fact that he lacked the tools of publicity, besides being "averse to the arts of self advertisement. He was less known in India or in England than many other Princes."[6] Shri Shahu after the death of Jotiba Phule in 1890, recognised education as the greatest boon of the British rule in India. Though he was a prince of a small kingdom, he dreamt of a fully educated free India. The correspondence Shri Shahu had with the various non–Brahmin leaders and organisations throw ample light on this aspect, which goes to establish and prove beyond doubt that the Justice Party owes its origins to the efforts of and inspiration from Shri Shahu of Kolhapur.

**Shri Shahu and the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj'**

Shri Shahu though a Prince of a small native state had spread the movement and brought a great awakening in Deccan India. It is the role of this leader which is very often ignored in understanding the non–Brahmin movement in its proper perspective. To clear the doubt expressed by P. Spratt, as to whether E. V. R. Naicker owes anything to Jotiba Phule, an assessment of Shri Shahu *vis–a–vis* the non–Brahmin movement would help us to draw certain conclusions. It would also help us to remove the lacuna in the field as pointed out by scholars like P. Spratt and Eugene F. Irschick, whose contributions are quite significant. The present study owes much to Eugene F. Irschick in analysing the movement in its proper perspective.

Shri Shahu of Kolhapur after the death of Jotiba Phule in 1890, took up the non-Brahmin cause and the cause of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj'. Shri Shahu, it should be noted, was not only influenced by the 'Satya

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6 Latthe A. B., *Memoirs His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaj of Kolhapur*, Times of India, 1924, Vol. I., p. VII.

Shodhak Samaj', but along with this influence there were various other factors that influenced his socio-political thought. For a good deal of time Shri Shahu was keeping himself aloof from all movements. This can be substantiated from the fact that when Shri Shahu ascended the throne in 1894, he was not yet a follower of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj'. He had no doubt, realised the defects of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj'. He took up the cause of the Samaj only after lapse of a good deal of time. Shri Shahu was Prince who was a personality of rare combinations. Right since 1873, with the establishment of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' by Jotiba Phule, the non-Brahmins had started to organise themselves. But Shri Shahu had remained aloof from the Samaj, and he did not establish the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' branch in Kolhapur upto 1913. Besides, a study of this period indicates that there were several incidents such as the *Vedokta problem*, *Ambabai Prakarna* etc. Shri Shahu was immensely influenced by all these events. Shri Shahu, during this period, had thought of keeping himself away from movements of such a nature, and was busy introducing reforms in his own Native State, in which he was quite busy during his early reign. Shri Shahu was dragged into this movement largely due to the hurdles created in this endeavour of his. The reforms which he introduced were challenged by people of the upper castes. Though Shri Shahu always tried his best to maintain good and cordial relations with the Brahmins, he found that they were incorrigible. (Refer Appendix 16.) Ultimately he saw the discontent, and was left with no alternative but to break it by introducing the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and (Arya Samaj) movements. Perhaps Shri Shahu placed the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' on proper footings, since it deviated from the original lines which Jotiba Phule had set for it and it was getting violent at times. After the death of Jotiba Phule in 1890 the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' was used only to show the black side of the Brahmin dominance. Shri Shahu established 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' branch in Kolhapur in July 1913.

Ever since Shri Shahu took up the non-Brahmin cause or the Satya Shodhak cause ( from 1913 to 1922 ), he spread it in all those areas in which the caste structure was the bane of public life. While assessing his influence, it is to be made clear that from 1900 onwards the British policy had created an environment which was most favourable for various weaker groups to organise themselves for bettering their position in the political life of the country. Shri Shahu felt that unless the weaker sections of the society were made conscious of their democratic rights, of their rightful place in the society, India would not be in a position to work on democratic principles.

Because of this approach, Shri Shahu could awaken the non-Brahmin masses and make them so much so conscious that a movement itself sprang in the Deccan India. Shri Shahu, it can be stated, prepared them to be the real citizens of free India. According to Shri Shahu, protection of these backward and depressed Hindus was more important than Independence or Swaraj. He feared that Swaraj might turn into slavery for Hindus if the prevailing conditions of the society did not undergo a change. The environment in which Jotiba Phule advocated social reforms differed from the environment in which Shri Shahu advocated his social reforms, but the cause was the same. Shri Shahu, besides advocating social reforms, was much interested in getting Communal Representation awarded. Shri Shahu's 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' was growing in influence because the British government had started making provisions for introducing self-government in India.

**Shri Shahu and the Communal Representation**

After the First World War, the British desired to introduce democratic institutions in India gradually. The British wanted that various sections of the society should be equally prepared to share the responsibility of running the British administration. Hence they wanted to provide representation to the several communities, especially the backward ones, in the governance of the country. From 1913 onwards Shri Shahu started developing contacts with all those areas in which the suffering of the down-trodden sections of the society was acute. In this direction he proposed various constitutional schemes to the British. The correspondence he had with various Native States speaks volumes for the impact he had made on these problems. He contacted almost all those areas in which caste system was practised rigidly and severly ( Refer Appendixes 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14. ) with these contacts Shri Shahu could create a large volume of public opinion in Deccan India itself, from where various non-Brahmin organisations, and especially the Justice Party in Madras have their roots.

Those persons who came in contact with Shri Shahu belonged to various walks of life, i. e., Rulers of States, Jahagirdars, European Officers, leaders of various communities from almost all the areas. Prominent among them were His Highness Mir Saheb of Khairpur, the Maharaj of Indore, Bhavanagar, Dewas, Dhar, Rajesaheb of Mudhol and Savantwadi, and Chiefs of Sangli, Akalkot, Palthan, Bhor etc. Among his prominent European friends stands out the name of Ex-Resident of Hyderabad, Sir Stuart Fraser,

K. C. S. I., who was "for a number of years His Highness's tutor and guardian, and for whom he entertained to the last, feelings of most reverential friendship and affection... The name of Shri Shahu Chhatrapati has become a household word specially among the backward and the depressed communities, not only in this state or in this Presidency, but outside in the distant parts of India, like Punjab, the Central Provinces and the Madras Presidency."[7] Such was the impact of the Maharaj's personality. It was a period of serious constitution-making, and in these efforts Shri Shahu of Kolhapur advocating the course of equal representation extended the movement to Madras too. He established relations with the leaders of the Madras Presidency such as Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar, Raja of Panagal, Sir Ramswami Mudaliar and others who were considered as the principal leaders of the Justice Party in Madras. Besides this, European officers like Sir Stuart Fraser, Lord Sydenham, Lord Curzon, and later Lord Willingdon, helped a great deal in making the movement a great success.

**Shri Shahu and the Rise of the Justice Party**

From 1913 onwards Shri Shahu can be considered as a moving spirit of the down-trodden. When Shri Shahu took up the non-Brahmin cause he also reformed and purged the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' of its defects. (See Appendixes 13,16. ) Otherwise the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' would have been under severe limitations. For a long time Shri Shahu was not interested in any movement. Between 1894–1913 he kept himself aloof from all movements. It was his fondness for *Shikar* that brought Shri Shahu into contact with the common people and he could learn by experience as to what extent his Native State was under the strong-hold of the Brahmins. His contact with the poor people made him very clear of the bad effects of the caste system on the society. Shri Shahu naturally turned his attention to the breaking of the caste system itself. In these efforts he was severely criticised by the Brahmins. His state's policy and his efforts in this direction were attacked by no less a leader than B. G. Tilak himself. In this context it is worthwhile to quote at length from a report which appeared in *The Times of India* (Bombay) on 11th August 1924, which throws some light on the relations between Shri Shahu and Tilak.

> "This enlightened Prince encountered stiff opposition to his efforts to broaden the basis of Indian nationalism. His efforts

7 Rajaram Maharaj Files 1922, (A. B. Latthe Re. Life of Shri Shahu). K.R.O. File No. 208. R. Sabnis to His Excellency Col. Pottinger.

were thwarted, his policy misrepresented, his character vilified, and for what reason ? Simply because he strove to break down the dead-hand of the Brahmin domination, and to admit non-Brahmins to a share in the administration of their own state. It would seem incredible to the future historian that such a policy should have conflicted with the nationalism of the late Mr. Tilak, but such is indeed the case. Throughout his life the Maharaj was the victim of Brahmin malevolence. He was a good Hindu, a wise and enlightened ruler and a patriotic Indian. But he would not allow the Brahmin claim to rule over the earth, heaven and hell. All his virtues were outweighted in the eyes of the nationalist party by this so-called single defect. In any other country he would have been the idol of all who hoped for political progress, his educational policy would have been the inspiration of countless emulators, his liberalism in social matters would have marked the beginning of a new era"[8].

Heavily influenced by the antagonistic views of B. G. Tilak and the criticisms levelled against him, a conflict detween the two ensued. The conflict between Shri Shahu and B. G. Tilak had both historical and contemporary grounds. This conflict became wider when Shri Shahu started pressing upon the British for Communal Representation, which had an all-India impact. There are also reasons for Shri Shahu and the Madras leaders to come together, and that was the rise of the Home Rule Movement, which was unitedly launched by Mr. B. G. Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant respectively in Bombay and Madras Presidencies. "Struggle, not reform, was the key note of Tilak's message."[9] Shri Shahu in his approach against this alliance between the two advocates of the Home Rule Movement never made any difference for (Shahu) between the two presidencies. The leaders of the Home Rule Movement even advocated violent methods, terrorism, to force the hand of the British. It was this aspect that brought Dr. T. M. Nair and Shri Shahu close to each other, which resulted in establishing the 'South Indian Liberal Federation' and the 'Justice Party' in 1916. Shri Shahu was well-known in this direction of establishing non-Brahmin organisation, printing presses, educational institutions and also financing them. In this context an examination of various opinions, both in appreciation and criticism, would

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8 *The Times of India*, (Bombay), 11th August, 1924 (Refer Book Review).

9 Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., *India : Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*, Harcourt. U. S. A., 1970, p. 26.

throw ample light as to how much of a help Shri Shahu was to the Justice Party in various ways. In Madras it was Dr. T. M. Nair who opposed the views of Mrs. Annie Besant, and Shri Shahu opposed B. G. Tilak for which he was criticised in both the Presidencies.

Shri Shahu was, on more than one occasion, criticised for spreading the non-Brahmin movement in Madras. He was criticised very often for being more popular in other states rather than in his own native state. In this context '*DNYANA PRAKASH*' (Poona) had severely criticised Shri Shahu. The article appeared after Shri Shahu's death and when Rajaram Maharaj had succeeded him. The article states :

> " the leading gentlemen that were present on the occasion whose names have not been published, a majority belonged to the districts outside the Kolhapur State. ...Anyone while thinking over the cause of the considerable rush of the outsiders and the outside bodies at the time of the installation, would realise the fact that Shahu Chhatrapati had directed the course of his money especially to the outside area... The receipt of the several addresses at his accession by the Rajaram Maharaj from people outside his State is simply the fruit of the popularity which his father gained outside the state. There was no reason for anybody to find fault with the late Maharaj if he could also have gained popularity by keeping his people contented and doing acts conducive to the general advancement of the state."[10]

Along with this, it is also necessary to consider the letter received by Rajaram Maharaj from A. Ramswami Mudaliar another prominent non-Brahmin leader who expired very recently.

> Sir A. Ramswami Mudaliar, congratulating Rajaram Maharaj, states
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> " ... The late Maharaj, whose acquaintance I had the privilege and honour of possessing, had set such a high standard, and had brought the *House of Kolhapur* so prominently before the public, and had done so much in the social field to give hope and cheer to the depressed and backward classes, that, in the Madras Presidency, Kolhapur stands for all that is Just and Equitable.[11] Shri Shahu "prepared the ground from which there

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10 Refer *Dnyana Prakash*, Poona, June 1922. (This article throws much light on the activities of Shahu.)

11 Ramswami Mudaliar to Rajaram Maharaj, K. R. O., 25th June, 1924. App. 44.

> sprang the Non-Brahmin Movement revolt, particularly in Madras and the Deccan, against a spiritual tyranny which threw a dark shadow over almost every phase of life." [12]

An analysis of the impact of the efforts of Shri Shahu throw ample light on the origins and evolution of the Justice Party. Besides this, even if the different opinions expressed by the various scholars on the origins of the Justice Party are taken into consideration, it can be found that they fail to agree upon the origins of the Justice Party.

The most recent contribution towards this study is that of Eugene F. Irschick, which has certainly contributed much to an understanding of the non-Brahminism and its politics. Irschick has rightly commented on the origins of the Justice Party as follows :

" Even though feeling against Brahmans, and particularly against Tamil Brahmans-became recurrent and ever louder theme, it was not until 1916 that a Non-Brahmin organisation came into existence. A complete answer to this question must await further research in late nineteenth century Madras politics. "[13]

An assessment of the huge awakening created by Shri Shahu since 1913 in advocating Communal Representation and the period of Shri Shahu's climax of popularity make it amply clear that, though the feeling against the Brahmins was quite popular in Madras, it was only in 1916 that it became more vocal and because of which the Justice Party, a non-Brahmin organisation, came into existence. It could not take shape twenty years earlier as Irschick has pointed out, because it did not have the required organised efforts which it got to a large extent from the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' under the leadership of Shri Shahu.

> " His Highness, in combating a system based upon religion hallowed by tradition, undertook a task of stupendous magnitude in which the social and religious issues were later on interwoven with the question of political reform. His aim was nothing less than to educate the masses, and to break down the barriers between man and man created by caste."[14]

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12 *Scottsman*, An Indian Prince, date 28th May, 1925.

13 Eugene F. Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*, Oxford, Bombay, 1970, p. 352.

14 *The London Times*, (February Supplement ) 12th February, 1925.

In this direction Shri Shahu's contacts with the 'Justice Party' and the 'South Indian Liberal Federation' can be established by also going through some of the condolence messages sent from Madras Presidency when they lost their beloved leader. The message from Madras sent by Sir P. T. Chettiar states : "this meeting of the Non–Brahmins of the city of Madras expresses warm appreciation and gratitude for the invaluable services rendered by him (Shri Shahu) in the cause of the country, and especially for the progress and the welfare of the "Non–Bahmin Community."[15] Besides this, the Justice (Office) in (Egmore Madras) also conducted a condolence meeting, which was presided over by Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur P. Ramanarayannaigar, Minister for Local Self government. The Chairman, "pointed in the death of the Maharajah, they had lost one of their valued friends. He was one of those who realised the importance of the ' South Indian Liberal Federation ' and its activities. He befriended the leaders of that movement and he tried his very best to espouse the cause of the depressed classes. It was their duty to take steps to commemorate the memory of the late Maharajah... A committee to commemorate his memory was also formed, which included, the Hon. P. Ramanarayanaigar, Hon. A. P. Patro, the Hon. M. K. Venkataraddi Naidu, Sir P. T. Chettiar and Mahomed Usman."[16]

Another meeting for the same purpose was conducted by the 'South Indian Liberal Federation' (Branch Trichinopally ) on 5th July 1922, which states " the loss sustained by Shri Shahu's death was irrepairable by the Non–Brahmins. It further feels confident that the present Highness (Rajaram Maharaj, Heir Apparent ) will carry on the noble cause of the uplift of the Non–Brahmins."[17] With such tributes paid by the Justice leaders, the regard and respect that they have expressed and the criticisms levelled against Shri Shahu by the '*Maratha*' Poona, and the '*Citizen*' Madras help to conclude that Shri Shahu's movement had much to do with the birth of the Justice Party in 1916. On the other hand an assessment of the role played by Shri Shahu contributes to fill the gap left unfilled by various scholars including that of Gail Omvedt and especially E. F. Irschick, who expresses his doubt regarding the timing of the origin of the Justice Party. Shri Shahu's influence provided an impetus to the already existing anti–Brahmin sentiments in the social, economic and especially in the political life, of the Madras Presidency. The

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15 K. R. O. P. T. Chettiar to Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur, **Refer Appendix 42.**
16 *The Madras Mail,* Maharajah of Kolhapur, May 22, 1922.
17 K. R. O., Refer the letter of General Secretary : (South Indian Liberal Federation), Trichinopoly Branch to Rajaram Maharaj.

history of the movement is, as well, the history of the man himself and the movement is that of **'Non-Brahmin regeneration'** itself.

Shri Shahu, during his twentysix years of rule, was always eager for the amelioration of all classes by emancipating them from the domination of the caste system. To this end much of his time and energy were devoted and he propagated the non-Brahmin cause with one purpose. He regarded social reforms and the education of the backward classes as the first plank upon which to build the non-Brahmin structure for their elevation. Eugene Irschick also repeatedly states that the answer to the question on the origin of the Justice Party "must await further research in the late nineteenth century Madras politics." [18] This aspect can be made clear by assessing the aims and the policy of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' under Shri Shahu's leadership, which also became a part of the politics in the Madras Presidency. The social reforms which Shri Shahu introduced since 1900, can throw much light on his policy and the reforms which he introduced in the early period became the programme of all non-Brahmin organizations later. In matters of appointments, "it was since 28th July 1902, Shri Shahu had directed that 50% of the vacancies that may occur shall be filled with recruits from among the backward classes." [19]

There are various aspects which can be further examined regarding Shri Shahu's efforts in this direction, but this would divert the study from the movement, to a study of the personality. Even then a complete chapter is allotted to the study because of the importance of the role played by Shri Shahu. The study has also considered the two movements, the Justice and the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and assessment of the cooperation and the intimate connections between the two movements is made. Non-Brahmin Confederations and Conferences did take place, through which leaders of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and the 'Justice Party' came in close contact with each other. Eugene Irschick's assessment in this direction is that "When the Justice Party was established it had an all-India perspective." [20]

If an examination of the movement is made chronologically right from Jotiba Phule era and establishment of the Justice Party in 1916, the conclusion goes contrary to the view expressed by Eugene Irschick, that 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' of Maharashtra established by Jotiba Phule and

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18 Eugene F. Irschick, *op. cit.*, p. 352.
19 K. R. O., *Kolhapur State Gazette*, Huzur Order July, 1902.
20 Eugene F. Irschick. *op. cit.*, p. 2.

further developed by Shri Shahu reaching the zenith of its popularity in 1916, resulted in an All-India Movement with a great impact on South India. It was not the Justice Party that had an All-India perspective, but it was the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' which had attained All-India prominence. How far this movement gave rise to Muslim sentiments can also be examined as a separate study. But suffice to state in this context that the Muslim League also had its roots in this Brahmim-non-Brahmin conflict.

The two non-Brahmin organisations worked together, and they together contributed considerably to the political awakening in India. They worked hand in hand during the period 1913-1925 when Shri Shahu not only influenced Madras politics but also the British politics. It was during this period that the non-Brahmin unity between the Justice leaders and the 'Satya Shodak Samaj' leaders was brought about as testified to by the various joint conferences.

**British Politics and the Justice Party**

An assessment of the role played by Jotiba Phule and Shri Shahu clearly establishes two main aspects of the non-Brahmin movement.

In the first place, it establishes the fact that Jotiba Phule was the first reformer to attack the evils inherent in the Hindu caste system. Jotiba Phule made a significant contribution in bringing about a great awakening among the non-Brahmin masses and was most successful in influencing the British policy and its out look.

Secondly, it was the role of Shri Shahu who advocated social reforms and communal representation that resulted in giving a definite direction and strength to the non-Brahmin movement. This is proved by the rise of various non-Brahmin organisations both in the South and North India.

Shri Shahu was often criticised, because of the hold the Brahmins had on the vernacular press in Bombay Presidency. In such a situation the British had rightly considered Bombay Presidency as an important centre of non-Brahmin politics, with its repercussions throughout the British India. In this connection it is worthwhile to examine the politics of the transfer of the Governor Lord Willingdon from Bombay to Madras Presidency. Shri Shahu had impressed upon Montagu to avoid the transfer. Even then the transfer was effected. The Justicites came to have great regards for Lord Willingdon and this makes it clear as to the role the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' played in

influencing the British politics in India, and the transfer was effected because it was realised that Bombay politics was influencing the politics of the Madras Presidency, and the services of Lord Willingdon were more required in Madras rather than Bombay Presidency.

In this direction it can also be pointed out that the principal leader of the Justice Party Dr. T. M. Nair, sailed to England in 1915 to educate the British statesman about the realities of the political situation in South India and to urge the inclusion of the principle of Communal Representation in any scheme of political reforms. Quite unexpectedly, when he arrived in London, he was served with "gagging order" restraining him from addressing or participating in any public meeting. The question was raised in the House of Lords by Lord Sydenham, a former Governor of Bombay, which eventually led to the withdrawal of the order. This once again establishes the cordial relations between Shri Shahu and Lord Sydenham, a former Governor of Bombay Presidency (Refer Appendix 22). This shows how eager Shri Shahu was to hear from Lord Sydenham, when Dr. T. M. Nair arrived. This aspect also throws much light on the origins and propagation of the Justice Party. The different views expressed regarding the Justice Party fail to establish the fact that the Justice Party was a result of the huge awakening among the non-Brahmin masses in the Deccan under the influence of the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and under the leadership of Shri Shahu. Influenced by this and the rise of the national movement, the British also contributed in their own way by encouraging the Justice Party of Madras. This objective becomes clear in the transfer of Lord Willingdon which was very timely. The Justice Party could achieve various legislative measures because of this encouragement, and also because it was in power during this period.

The other aspect of the non-Brahmin movement is the launching of the Home Rule Movement jointly by B. G. Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant. This factor also contributed to the unity between the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and the 'Justice Party' as they were opposed to the Home Rule Movement. The alliance of these two Home Rule leaders forced the non-Brahmin movements-the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' and the 'Justice Party' of Madras to unite against it. Shri Shahu was in fact criticised for his growing influence in the Madras Presidency.

**Genesis of the Non-Brahmin Movement**

Non-Brahmin Movement ('Satya Shodhak Samaj' and the Justice Party) besides its historical roots, was the result of the awakening to the new ideals of the national life since the advent of the British rule. They considered that Western education was the greatest boon to India. The goal of responsible government augured well for the non-Brahmin movement. The non-Brahmin movement in its various aspects was the natural result of all these factors. It was mainly a social-reform movement. It was an emphatic protest against the domination of one section of society by another and the spurious claim of a community to superiority due simply to birth. It was not a movement to level down others. What the non-Brahmin movement wanted was Social Justice to one and all, man or a woman, rich or poor, high or low. They wanted that everyone should be treated equally. As social reformists, they complained against the injustices and, therefore, they strove for universal education. The firm policy of the non-Brahmins in both the Presidencies was that the needs of the many should be given preference over the needs of the few.

An understanding of the various aspects of the Justice Party and the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj', clearly indicate that though, they complained of injustice done by the priestly class, it was only a means and it was their object to prevent unfair treatment given to the non-Brahmins. It was not a movement that was intended to embitter the relations between the two, Brahmins and the non-Brahmins, by carrying on a fratricidal social war. Both the movements considered it important that social reform ought not to lead to chaos and confusion in the social life of the nation. Most of the leaders like Jotiba Phule, Shri Shahu, Dr. T. M. Nair. Sir P. T. Chettiar, Raja of Panagal, Sir Ramswami Mudaliar considered social reforms as an important goal of the **Non-Brahmin Movement**.

The movement under these leaders reached its zenith. The representative form of governments elected on the principle of Communal Representation in both the Presidencies achieved much through various legislative measures. An examination of these measures would also lead to the conclusion that the non-Brahmin movements in the two Presidencies were united and owed much to each other. But this co-ordination and co-operation was too short lived, because of the misfortune of the movement itself. It lost most important of its founding leaders like Dr. T. M. Nair in 1919, Shri Shahu in 1922, Sir P. T. Chettiar in 1925 and Raja of Panagal in 1928.

The loss of these principal leaders coincided with the change in the British policy in 1925 when it was decided to give up the system of Communal Representation.

As the non-Brahmins had relied much on the British policy and support, they had not developed a mass footing especially in Madras. Besides the Justice Party's claim as the sole non-Brahmin party was challenged by the rise of other non-Brahmin organisations in Madras. But this was not the case with the Bombay Presidency. With the loss sustained in the passing away of the original leaders of the Justice Party, it certainly lacked good leadership. While in search of good leaders, who could propagate and develop a mass footing for the Justice Party, ultimately the Madras Presidency found in Periar Ramaswamy Naicker an able leader to propagate the cause of the Justice Party and save it from its decline.

It is in this context that P. Spratt is certainly right in expressing a doubt whether Periar Naicker owes anything to Jotiba Phule, and to the movement further propagated by Shri Shahu which resulted in a strong non-Brahmin movement leading to the birth of the Justice Party. So it can be stated that Periar E. V. R. Naicker owes something to Justice Party, which in turn, was inspired by the non-Brahmin movement.

Periar E. V. R. Naicker was well-known as the leader of the Dravidian movement in Madras. He was an agnostic and an aggressive one at that. But it is interesting to note that he was formerly the member of Indian National Congress which he left in 1925 to join the Justice Party when it was very badly in need of a leader of the stature and dynamism of Mr. Naicker. It was hoped that the Justice Party would be retrieved from its weaknesses. But E. V. R. Naicker was more interested in starting his own 'Self-Respect Movement' for which he utilised the Justice plank. This approach of his was the turning point for the non-Brahmin movement in Madras when it came to be converted into a 'Dravidian Movement' under the leadership of Mr. Naicker. So Robert Hardgrave is right in stating that the Dravidian Movement actually starts with non-Brahminism. In other words the Dravidian Movement starts from the day Periar E. V. R. Naicker enters the non-Brahmin movement through the Justice Party after quitting from the Congress. So it is very clear that the 'Dravidian Movement' and its leader Mr. Naicker are the products of the non–Brahmin movement which was established by Jotiba Phule and nourished and spread by Shri Shahu Maharaj of

Kolhapur. This is borne out by the various correspondence, copies of which are appended to this study. This conclusion is also historically tenable.

The non-Brahmin movement in Madras Presidency can be divided into two main parts : a) Non-Brahmin Movement from 1916 to 1925, i. e. before Periar E. V. R. Naicker's entry; and b) Non-Brahmin Movement after 1925 under Periar's leadership. Hence the 'Dravidian Movement' of Naicker starts from 1925 onwards. Periar E. V. R. Naicker's contribution to the achievements of the Justice Party is nothing, compared to his contribution to the non-Brahmin movement, especially the '**Dravidian Phase**' of the movement. His contribution to the non-Brahmin cause is as important as the contribution of the principal leaders like Dr. T. M. Nair, Sir P. T. Chettiar and others because he sought to revive the cultural pride of the Dravidian past. When Periar took up the cause of this movement he had to rebuild the Justice Party on mass lines. He had to evolve his own machinery in this task because of which the movement came to be called as anti-Hindi, anti-North, anti-Sanskrit and not in the least a clear anti-Brahmin philosophy itself. It is in this context that non-Brahmin movement of Madras i. e., D. K. and D. M. K. is a regeneration of the non-Branmin movement which was already a force to reckon within South India and which had its hey-days between 1913-1925.

The '**Dravidian Phase**' of the non-Brahmin movement starts not with the Justice Party but it starts with the entry of Periar E. V. R. Naicker into the movement. After Periar entered this movement, it departed from its original social-reform outlook. Periar joined this movement after a bitter controversy in the Congress, and doing so it can be stated, Periar could not play both the roles i. e., of anti-Congress and a pro-British role as that of the Justice Party. Justice Party, which was a social-reform-oriented party, became an instrument in the hands of the Periar and since then it could not win any of the elections it contested (after 1925). It was because of this fact that the Dravidian thought was propagated with all vigor by Periar E. V. R. Naicker and most of the Justicites who followed him from 1925 onwards disagreed with his approach. Prominent among them was C. N. Annadurai. Though C. N. Annadurai followed Periar, he always disagreed with him, because of which at last in 1949 when Periar formed the '*Dravida Kazhgam*', C. N. Annadurai, formed his own party known as '*Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam*'.

**C. N. Annadurai and Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam**

C. N. Annadurai popularly known as "*Anna*" ( Elder brother ) was a versatile genius. He was a powerful orator, a great writer, and a voracious reader. He was a matchless playwrite. He was also well-known as an able administrator. In brief, he was a rare combination of many qualities in a single individual because of which he had a great following among the non-Brahmin masses. Annadurai was much attracted by the Justice Party activities as a student of Pachaiyappa's College. This college was a centre of the Justice Party activities. Under the influence of the activities of the Justice Party he decided to serve the non-Brahmin cause. He had only one choice and that was to join the Periar's '**Self Respect Movement,**' because by this time the Justice Party's programme was being carried on by Periar E. V. R. Naicker. The Justice Party was on the decline because of the change in the British policy and their outlook towards the non-Brahmin movement, and the Congress was gaining grounds.

C. N. Annadurai joined the 'Self Respectors', with all this background knowledge of the activities of the Justice Party. Annadurai's thoughts had been much influenced by the social reforms of the Justice Party and he was aware of the decline of the Justice influence. He understood the need of the Madras politics at that time and felt that it was in need of a good political party. In this behalf as early as February 3, 1937, C. N. Annadurai speaking at Parvalipur had said that "any political party, if it is to serve the interests of the country aright, should have a definite policy, detailed programme and last but not the least in importance, a method of effectively carrying out its programme."[21] C. N. Annadurai as an active 'Self Respect' worker had his own plans for the future of Madras politics It is needless to say that he disagreed with the 'Self Respect Movement' of Naicker Besides, Periar's influence had helped the Justice Party very little. Mr. Naicker's influence on the British, or on the Madras politics, or on the masses can be assessed from his meetings with Sir S. Cripps in 1942. Mr. Naicker with the objective of constructing a mass base for the non-Brahmin ( Justice Party ), lead the movement in his own directions and even by 1942, Periar had not gained confidence of contesting elections with success. This is clear from his talks with Sir S. Cripps. The delegation was lead by Periar Naicker and eminent personalities like Sir Muthiah Chettiar, Mr. N. R. Samiappa Mudaliar and Mr. W. P. A. Soundrapandia Nadar, met Sir S. Cripps on 30th March 1942, and

21 Justice, Madras, Mr. C. N. Annadurai's Speech at Paravalipur, February 3, 1937.

pressed on him for separate electorates on such a scale as to give them automatically the majority position in the Province. He Pointed "it would be in the interests of the population of Madras to secede from the main Union in order to have a Union of their own in which the Non-Brahmin Hindu can hope to get power. In this interview, Periar also pointed out that owing to lack of education, wealth and opportunity, they were unable to stand up in any election against the more wealthy and powerful Brahmin population."[22]

This fact throws much light on the origins of the 'Dravidian Movement'. The 'Dravidian Movement' was launched in search of an ideology by which to hold the masses and to gain political power. Another fact which can be stated here is that Periar Naicker neither played a pro-British role, nor did he play the anti-British role, nor the nationalist role. This reality certainly made a great impact on the mind of persons like late C. N. Annadurai, who had determined to have a political party with a different policy and outlook. He disagrees on the tactics of Mr. E. V. R. Naicker. By 1944, Mr. C. N. Annadurai had already become an influential member, who pressed for a policy more in accord with the nationalist sentiment. It was the social reformist factor of the Justice Party which had a great influence on *Anna*. But by that time the Justice Party's break-up was inevitable. At its Salem Conference in 1944, there was a split in the Party and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam was formed. Periar Naicker's party came to be called the Dravida Kazhgam. This sounded the death-knell of the Justice Party.

Annadurai felt that " Brahmin baiting was of little use as far as the cause of the non-Brahmins was concerned. He had no desire to widen the gulf on the colour-line which Periar E. V. R. Naicker had exploited by pointing out that " *The Ramayana*" as based upon the very substance of Hindu mythology in which Rama's march towards the South, calling king Ravana as abductor of Sita is to paint Aryan triumphs and progress over the Dravidian inhabitants of India. Instead, Mr. C. N. Annadurai tried to project a secular image of it without compromising its Dravidian character, whatever it meant. "The D. M. K. had to retain its Tamil Chauvinist, anti-Brahmin image but could not afford to estrange the Brahmin voter.[23]

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22 Note by Sir S. Cripps, *The Transfer of Power 1942–47*, Vol. I, Letter No. 466. L/PEJ/10/4:f56 (Interview with Justice Party Madras on 30th March, 1942).

23 *The Hindu*, (Madras), June 22, 1956.

Various conclusions can be drawn from this study. It clearly goes to prove that the **'Non-Brahmin Movement'** in India has passed through various stages of development. It was a small force to start with, under the leadership of that great social revolutionary of Maharashtra Jotiba Phule and culminated in the Dravidian Movement in Tamil Nadu. It is proved beyond doubts that the non-Brahmin movement of Madras the Justice, the D. K. and D. M. K.-did not originate only to revive the Dravidian past. It was a continuation of the non-Brahmin movement, which had a more comprehensive goal.

The Justice Party, established in 1916, was the result of the influence of the ' Satya Shodhak Samaj ', established by Jotiba Phule in 1873, and later on propagated by the late Shri Shahu Maharaj (1894-1922) of Kolhapur. Shri Shahu was known in and beyond his Native State for his progressive social and educational policy, and the leadership he provided in demanding Communal Representation. His progressive policies and views had influenced the British so much that they had to concede Communal Representation to various castes.

The non-Brahmin movement under Shri Shahu of Kolhapur was a consolidated movement and the various non-Brahmin organisations in the South owed their origin to Shri Shahu. He was, of course, criticised for this by the vernacular newspapers both in Bombay Presidency and Madras Presidency. (The *Citizen* of Madras and the *Maratha* of Poona).

The present study of the non-Brahmin movement is based on the correspondence Shri Shahu had with the British dignitaries and the non-Brahmin leaders, both in the South and the North.

The study, besides assessing the individual leaders of the non-Brahmin movement i. e., Jotiba Phule and Shri Shahu, has also attempted to analyse in an objective way the British policy towards the movement. The findings go to establish that the British dignitaries like Lord Sydenham, Lord Curzon and Lord Willingdon contributed much to bring together the non-Brahmin leaders from Bombay and Madras Presidencies, which further proves that the rise of the Justice Party in 1916 was not because of the Dravidian past alone. Its purpose was not to revive the Dravidian past, but the Justice Party was more influenced by the already popular phase of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' under Shri Shahu of Kolhapur. In this direction, it would be better to quote Sir A. Ramswami Mudaliar, who states that "Kolhapur stands in

the eyes of the people of this Presidency for all that is Just and Equitable." (Refer Appendix 44).

Hence in conclusion it may be stated that this is a study covering the various other factors which influenced the rise of the Justice Party, which was certainly a social-reformist party in its early or the Justice phase; but it departed considerably from the original policy later on. The Justice Party departed from its original policy to a large extent ever since Periar E. V. R. Naicker started the 'Self Respect Movement'. It is also found that Periar E. V. R. Naicker contributed much to the origin and growth of the 'Dravidian Movement' which can form to be a separate study by itself.

# APPENDICES

# APÊNDICES

# THE NON-BRAHMIN MANIFESTO

The time has come when an attempt should be made to define the attitude of the several important non-Brahmin Communities in this Presidency toward what is called " the Indian Home Rule Movement, " and also to indicate certain facts with respect to their present political position. Not less than 40 out off 40½ millions who form the population of this Presidency are non-Brahmins, and the bulk of the taxpayers, including a large majority of the zamindars, landholders and agriculturalists, also belong to the same class. But in what passes for politics in Madras they have made little or no use of their influence among the masses for the general political advancement of the country. In these days of organized effort, they maintain no proper organizations for protecting or promoting their common interests and for preventing professional and other politicians, with hardly any corresponding state in the country, from posing as their accredited spokesmen. Nor have they a Press of their own to speak the thruth on their behalf. Their political interests, therefore ( as compared with those of the Brahmins who number only about a million and a half ) have materially suffered.

The Hon'ble Sir Alexander ( then Mr ) Cardew now a Member of the Madras Executive Council in his evidence before the Public Service Commission in 1918, described, in detail, the relative positions of the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins in the Public Service of this Province, not certainly as champion of non-Brahmin interests, but with a view to showing that if simultaneous examination in England and India for admission into the Indian Civil Service were introduced, the Brahmins whom he characterized as " a

small rigidly exclusive caste," would sweep that service. He is reported to have stated that in the competitive examinations for the Provincial Civil Service, which were held between 1892 and 1904, out of sixteen successful candidates fifteen were Brahmins giving a ratio of 94 per cent of Brahmin success. In the Mysore State where open competitive examinations for the Mysore Civil Service were held during the preceding twenty years, Brahmins secured 85 per cent of the vacancies. In the competition for the appointment of Assistant Engineers in Madras the number of successful candidates, during the same period was 17 Brahmins and 4 non-Brahmins. Similar results were produced by the competitive examinations for the Accounts Departments. Out of 140 Deputy Collectors in Madras at the time, 77 were Brahmins, 30 non-Brahmin Hindus and the rest Muhammedans, Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians. It is curious to note that even where competitive examinations did not exist, as for instance in the subordinate Judicial Service of the Presidency, the major portion of the appointments were in the hands of the Brahmins.

Sir Alexander Cardew states that out of 128 permanent District Munsiffs in 1913, 93 were Brahmins, 25 non-Brahmin Hindus and the rest Mohammedans, Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians. From these and other fingures of a like nature he naturally concluded that an open competition for the Civil Service in India would mean an almost complete monopoly of the service by Brahmin caste and the practical exclusion from it of the non-Brahmin classes. Of course he did not invite the alter of the Public Service Commission to what prevailed in the important Native States, directly under the control of the Madras Government, where, too, the preponderance of Brahmins in the Government service then, as now, was not less marked. Nor did he go into the figures relating to the Subordinate Services which are recruited under a system almost wholly of patronage. Surely, in these services the preponderance of Brahmins would be still more striking.

With regard to what obtains at the present moment in the various branches of the government service, it is needless to go into the figures. But we cannot help calling attention to the highest appointments open to the Indians in the Presidency and the principle upon which they are distributed. Since the Executive Council of H. E. the Governor has been opened to Indians, three Indian gentlemen have been admitted into it in succession, the two latter being Brahmin lawyers. Of the five Indian judges of the High

Court, four of them, i. e., all the Hindu judges, are Brahmins. In 1914 a new secretaryship to government was created and a Brahmin official was forthwith appointed to it. The Indian Secretary to the Board of Revenue is a Brahmin: and of the two collectorships open to the members of the Provincial Civil Service that which has fallen to the share of communities other than the Mohammedan has nearly always gone to a Brahmin official.

What is true of Government Service is equally true of local and other bodies. Where the electorate is composed of a large number of Brahmins the non-Brahmin Indian has hardly a chance. It nearly always happens that while the non-Brahmin, the Brahmins nearly always unite and support their caste man. The Madras University of which the majority of Indian Fellows, classified under several Indian groups, are Brahmins, has never returned a non-Brahmin Indian to the local Legislative Council, so much so that no non-Brahmin Indian, however well qualified otherwise, indulges in the hope of getting elected as Member for the University in the Legislative Council, unless it is with the support of the European Fellows. At a meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, held in November, 1914, in reply to an interpellation by the late Mr. Kunhi Raman Nayar, it was stated that the total number of registered graduates of the University was 650 of whom 450 were Brahmins, 124 non-Brahmin Hindus and 74 belonged to other communities and that since 1907, when election of Fellows by registered graduates began, 12 Fellows were elected of whom with one exception all were Brahmins. We are not aware that neither before 1907, when a sort of election of a few Fellows by graduates of a certain number of years standing was allowed, nor since 1914 when the statement referred to was made in the Legislative Council, the graduates of the Madras University of whom the majority have always been Brahmins, elected a non-Brahmin as a Fellow of the University, has little or no chance of getting into the Senate of the Madras University through what is called the open door of elections.

In the election to the Imperial and local Legislative Councils and to the Municipal Bodies one finds the same thruth illustrated, so far as these elections could be controlled by the " rigidly exclusive caste." If occasionally a fair--minded ruler endeavours to correct the ineqaulity arising from the preporderance of Brahmins on any public body by having recourse to nominations of individuals from comparatively unrepresented interests, he is severely criticized in the Brahmin press. How His Excellency Lord Pentland was dealt with some of the papers in connection with the

recent nominations to his Legislative Council may be cited as the latest example of this kind of hostile and unfair criticism. Outside these responsible bodies more or less under the control of the government even in the case of existing political organizations in the City of Madras as well as in the districts the figures regarding election, if gone into, will tell the same tale. To quote one of the latest instances, of the fifteen gentlemen elected from this Presidency to represent it on the All India Congress Committee with the exception of one solitary non-Brahmin Indian, all are practically Brahmins and yet the decisions of this committee which is the executive of the Congress, upon matters of grave import such as the revision of the Indian constitution after the war, will be held upto the worlds admiring gaze as the considered opinions, among others, of the 40 millions of non-Brahmins of this large and important province. It is our unfortunate experience that as concessions and rights are more freely be stowed, the rigidly exclusive caste grows still more rigid and exclusive.

In defense of all this practical monopoly of political power and high government appointments which make for that power, it is pointed out that though the Brahmins are only a small fraction of the population of this Presidency, they are far ahead of other communities in regard to university qualification. No one denies this. Old established traditions, the position of the Brahmins as the highest and the most sacred of the Hindu castes, the nature of their ancient calling, and the steady inculcation of the belief, both by written texts and oral teaching, that they are so many divinely ordained intermediaries without whose active intervention and blessing the soul cannot obtain salvation and their consequent freedom from manual toil–all these helped them to adapt themselves easily to the new conditions under British Rule; as under previous epochs, in larger numbers and far more successfully than the other castes and communities. Apart, however, from the question of English education, are large material stakes, traditional and inherited interests in the soil and the social prestige that goes with it, influence among the masses, quiet and peaceful occupations that tend to the steady economic development of the Province, and overwhelming numerical strength itself, to count for nothing ? should not the classes and communities that, from time immemorial, have stood for these, receive encouragement from the government ? In the matter of education itself the advantage is not all on the side of the Brahmin castes. Though rather late in the field, the non–Brahmin communities have begun to move.

They now represent various stages of progress. Some of them such as the Chetty, the Komati, the Mudaliar, the Naidu, and the Nayar, have been making rapid progress; and even the least advanced, like those who are ahead of them, are manfully exerting themselves to come up to the standards of the new times. The spirit of educational progress is abroad, and it is a significant circumstance that among some of the non-Brahmin communities the development is more harmonious and less one-sided than among the Brahmins. In spite of the singular solicitude which for reasons not apparent, the Department of Education has been showing for the education of Brahmin girls and especially of Brahmin widows as if the Brahmins were a backward class, the percentage as the Nayars is higher than among the Brahmans. In a variety of ways and in different walks of life non-Brahmins will now be found unostentatiously and yet effectively contributing to the moral and material progress of this Presidency. But they and their brethren have so far been groping helplessly in the background, because of the subtle and manifold ways in which political power and official influences are often exercised by the Brahmin caste.

We do not deny that in these days of fierce intellectual competition the skill to pass examinations is a valuable personal possession. But it passes our understanding why a small class which shows a larger percentage of English-knowing men than their neighbours, should be allowed almost to absorb all the government appointments, great and small, high and low, to the exclusion of the latter among whom may also be found, though in small proportions, men of capacity, enlightenment and culture. The fact cannot be gainsaid that in spite of numerous obstacles in their path, as executive and as judicial officers, as educationalists, lawyers, medical men, engineers, public men and as successful administrators of large and important estates, the non-Brahmin communities have produced men of distinguished attainments and unquestioned eminence, some of whom have found no equals in the Brahmin caste. Guided by their own sense of self-respect and enlightened self interest, had they and their communities always acted in concert, even in the matter of government appointments and political power, they would have been at the top, a place which is theirs by right. As it is, for want of efficient separate organizations of their own and of the instinct or the inclination to make the freest and the most effective use of the modern weapon of publicity, their interests have not yet received their proper share of attention and recognition.

Not satisfied with the possession of the key to the present political position, the radical politicians of this Presidency, who are apparently never so happy as when they ask for fresh political concessions, irrespective of their suitability to the existing conditions, now ask for Home Rule and from previous experience we fear that if a discordant note is not sounded at the proper time it will of course be made out that all India is keen about Home Rule. It is not necessary for our purpose to go into the details of this extravagant scheme, or into those of the other submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council. We are not in favour of any measure which, in operation, is designed, or tends completely, to undermine the influence and authority of the British Rulers, who alone in the present circumstances of India are able to hold the scales even between creed and class and to develop that sense of unity and national solidarity without which India will continue to be a congeries of mutually exclusive and warring groups without a common purpose and a common patriotism. While we dissociate ourselves entirely from unauthorized Indian constitution-making which seems to be a favorite occupation with a certain class of politicians, we must say that we are strongly in favour of progressive political development of a well-defined policy of trust in the people, qualified by prudence, and of timely and liberal concessions in the wake of proved fitness. In the early days of the Indian National Congress, when that movement was directed and controlled on the spot by such sagacious and thoughtful men as the late Messrs. A. O. Hume, W. C. Bannerjee, Budruddin Tyabji, S. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Rangiah Naidu, Rao Bahadur Sabhapathi Mudaliar, and Sir Sarkaran Nair, enlightened non-Brahmins all over the Presidency gave it their hearty and loyal support. It was then, though not in form and name, but in spirit and method, a truly national institution. Some of the old ideals are still there. But the spirit in which, the method by which, and the persons by whom, it is at present worked, cannot, all of them, commend themselves to the thinking and self-respecting section of the non-Brahmin public of this Presidency. The social reactionary and the impatient political idealist, who seldom has his foot on solid earth, have now taken almost complete possession of the Congress. Democratic in aims, an irresponsible bureaucracy now manipulates its wires. We sincerely hope that sane and sober politicians, who know the country and its people, and who feel their responsibility to both, will soon reassert their mastery over the Congress machine, and direct it in strict accordance with the living realities of the present.

For our part we deprecate, as we have suggested, the introduction of changes not warranted by the present conditions. We cannot too strongly condemn caste or class rule. We are of those who think that in the truest and best interests of India, its government should continue to be conducted on true British principles of justice and equality of opportunity. We are deeply devoted and loyally attached to British rule. For that rule in spite of its many short comings and occasional aberrations, is, in the main, just and sympathetic. We, indeed, hope that our rulers will, as their knowledge of the country expands, be more readily responsive to public feeling when, of course, that feeling is clearly manifest and decidedly unambiguous, and that before they take any action they will examine the interests and wishes of each caste, class, and community with more anxious care than heretofore and in a less conventional manner. When the spirit of social exclusiveness and the rigidity of class and caste begin to disappear, the progress to ward self-government will unquestionably be more satisfactory. But for the present the practical politician has to concern himself with what lies immediately in front of him.

After the triumphant conclusion of the war, the Indian Constitution will doubtless come before the British statesmen and British Parliament for revisions. India has earned the right to demand that the basis of her Constitution should be broadened and deepened, that her sons, representing every class, caste, and community, according to their acknowledged position in the country and their respective numerical strength, should be given fiscal freedom and legislative autonomy in matters affecting her domestic policy and economic position, and that, lastly she must be accorded a place in the empire conducive to the sense of self respect of her children as British subjects, and not inferior in dignity and power to that occupied by any self-governing colony.

We appeal to the enlightened members of the non-Brahmin communities to be up and doing. Their future lies in their own hands. Great and pressing is the task with which they are confronted. They have, in the first place, to educate their boys and girls in far greater numbers than they have yet done. Associations under the responsible guidance of leading non-Brahmin gentlemen shoud be started and maintained in a state of efficiency, in every populous center, not merely to induce the various non-Brahmin communities to avail themselves more freely of the existing facilities for education, and to create such facilities where they do now exist, but also to find adequate funds for the education of such of their poor but intelligent

boys and girls as cannot obtain instruction without extraneous pecuniary help. Indeed a more vigorous educational policy for the non-Brahmins has long been overdue. Side by side with the starting of associations for the advancement of the education of the non-Brahmin classes, must also be maintained, social and political organizations, and where needed, well conducted newspapers of their own, both in vernaculars and, in English, to push forward their claims. By their attitude of silence and inaction they have failed to make their voices heard, and others more astute than they have used them for their own ends, with the result that there is a great deal of discontent among the non-Brahmins about their present lot as compared with that of their Brahmin fellow countrymen of which, perhaps the government is not fully aware. The discontent is growing every day, and the attention of the government will be drawn to it. But the non-Brahmins must first help themselves.

Let them do every thing needful to ensure a continued educational, social, political, and economical development on a broad and enduring basis; and, then, their future as British subjects will be brighter and move prosperous than it is to-day. What is designated as "nation building" is a laborious task, involving indeed necessitating, in the slow process of evolution, the due performance, in the proper time, by each class and community, of the duty it owes to itself, first and foremost. It is our firm conviction that in India, for some time to come at any rate, every community has primarily to put its own house in order, so that, when it has to co-operate with other communities, possibly with higher social pretensions, it may do so not as a dependent and helpless unit to be made a figurehead or cat's paw of, but as a self-respecting and highly developed organization, offering its willing cooperation for the promotion of common objects on terms of perfect equality.

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* **Published in the Hindu ( Madras ) Dec. 20, 1916.**

## APPENDIX No. 1

(From K. N. Yadav to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

K. R. O./L. No.-R-11442.

Shivapuri, Gwalior State,
Dated, 26th February 1920.

**To**

H. H. Shri Chhatrapati
Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur,
Kolhapur.

**From :**

K. N. Yadav,
B.A., LL.B.,
District Judge,
Shivapuri, Gwalior State.

May it Please Your Highness :

I, the working Secretary of the Somvanshi Arya Kshatriya Dnyan Vardhak Samaj, Gwalior had the honour of approaching Your Highness gracious feet with an humble petition dated the 24th February 1919, wherein I had tried to show your Highness that the Somvanshi Arya Kshatriya alias Karajgar community is really a branch of the Marathas, separated from them by an irony of fate.

Your Highness has been pleased to work hard for the upheaval of the backward communities of the Deccan by helping them in various ways. Our backward communities once enlightened will throw off the yoke of Brahminish social oppression. They have been looking in since long for an able guide to lead them on to enlightenment. Their humble prayers, listened to by the Almighty God, have fructified and He has granted them an able guide in Your Highness. They have nothing to fear henceforth in their onward march of progress. Their road to prosperity is becoming clear of thorns and obstacles and they are sure to rise by leaps and bounds with your liberal helps and efforts in these days of evolution.

The Somvanshi Arya Kshatriya Community is an artist community is very backward in education and needs help in every way to reach the path of enlightenment, Your Highness humble servant is very happy and proud to see that the arm of Your Highness' liberality has begun to reach this harmless but industrious community. We beg to mark with deep and tender obligations Your Highness' favours seen in helping Mr.G M.Mane, with necessary funds,who is serving as a Lecturer in the Thomson College at Roorkee and Mr. G. K. Suryavanshi B. A. with law books and lodging, who is at present studying for the L L. B. examination at the Government Law School, Bombay. We beg to offer our sincere and heart-felt thanks for these favours showered on those two gentlemen of this harmless Somvanshi Arya Kshatriya Community and we beg to hope and pray for more and more liberal helps at Your Highness' gracious hands, in leading our younger generation to enlightenment.

Your Highness shall be pleased to mark and view that ours is artist community dealing in various arts and industries. Removal of their so called social grievances and grant of liberal helps in education-industrial and intellectual-in western sciences will lead them and throw off their present lethargy and be a cause of the revival and regeneration of indigenous arts and industries of Your Highness' Raj.

I beg to repeat once more our sincere thanks for the favours already shown and pray with a bowed heart that Almighty God may listen to our tender prayers and grant Your Highness a long and energetic life to help us more and more liberally to our upheaval in the world at large.

I beg to remain,

Your Highness, most obedient, loyal and

Hon'ble servant

**Sd/-**

(K. N. Yadav)

26/2 B. A., LL. B.

District Judge,

Shivapuri, Gwalior State.

## APPENDIX No. 2

( From Chhattarsingh Lallji Utaker to Shri Shahu Maharaj )

K. R. O./L. No. R-11407.

Depressed Classes Mission
Office, Girgaon, Charni Road,
Bombay, 12th February, 1920.

**To**

The Private Secretary,
to His Highness The Maharaja of Kolhapur.
Honoured Sir,

I, the undersigned, pray for a private interview with His Highness The Maharaja of Kolhapur. I am the leader of the Gujerati Untouchables, and the Assistant General Secretary of the Depressed Classes Misson Society of India.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble, and to be favoured with a reply.

I beg to remain Sir,
Your most obedient servant.
**Sd/-**

**From :**

Chhattarsingh Lallji Utaker,
'Arya Bhawan', Sandhust Road,
Bombay No. 4.

## APPENDIX No. 3

( From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Col. Wodehouse )

K. R. O./L. No. 11312.

Kolhapur.
19th January, 1920.

My dear Colonel Wodehouse;

The Mahomedans are holding their educational Congress at Karad next month, and as one taking interest in the education of the backward classes; I am requested to preside at their meeting. Maulvi Rajiuddin has been sent to me for the purpose.

So also the Arya Samaj are holding their conference at Bhavnagar on the 6th, 7th and 8th of next month and they too have made a similar request to me to preside. You know I have every sympathy with their works social and religious reforms and I am showing it by meeting their wishes.

I shall be going to both these places in the British Territories to take part in the meetings to be held there as I have done before at the Conference of the Kurmi Kshatriya at Cownpore and the Maratha Conferences held at Khamgaon and Navaseri in Baroda.

The exact date of the Mahomedan conference at Karad will be communicated to you as soon as it is fixed.

Yours Sincerely,
Sd/-
Shahu Chhatrapatti.

## APPENDIX No. 4

( From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Mrs. Ramabai Govind Ranade )

K. R. O./L. No. 11311.

Kolhapur,
18th January, 1920.

My dear Mrs. Ramabai Ranade;

I thank for your kind letter dated 15th instant. I do not think there is any difference of opinion regarding the utility and necessity of an institution like the one for which you and other ladies have worked and are working so heartily. Such gatherings are a crying want of India and we cannot be too grateful to lady Lloyd for the push Her Excellency is giving to the movement.

I very much regret my inability to attend, you will understand it is not for want of appreciation on my part and so I need not write more.

Wishing the tournament every success.

I am;
Yours Sincerely,
**Sd-**

## APPENDIX No. 5

( From B. A. Gupte to Dewansaheb of Shri Shahu Maharaj )

K. R. O./F. No. 27 ( 1919 )

Belvedere ( West Bengal ).
Alipur Post,
Calcutta. 21-11-19

My dear Dewansaheb;

I enclose copies of letters showing the step I have taken. My letter was shown to the President Sir Mukarji before it was officially put in. I have his full support. With the help of this subject. Kindly submit these papers to His Highness and assume him that I shall spare no pains and will work with best of my power and resources. It is a labour of love to me. Do not get anxious over the expenses. I will see that they are not heavy.

Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
( B. A. Gupte )

## APPENDIX No. 6 (a)

( From B. A. Gupte, to the Secretary Council of Post Graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University )

K. R. O./F. No. 27

Belvedere,
Alipore, P. O.
Calcutta.
20th Nov. 1919.

**To**

The Secretary,
Council of Post Graduate.
Teaching in Arts,
Calcutta University.

**Sir,**

I beg to enclose letter from Mr. J. R. Karkhanis B. A. : Agent of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur. His Highness is anxious to start an independent research in Ethnography on ancient points and methods of classification of the Hindu races; and to solicit the favour of;

1. The appointment of a committee of experts the said research on the six points mentioned in Mr. Karkhanis ' letter ' in consultation with him where necessary.
2. To estimate the possible cost of payment as remuneration to qualified researches; and to ascertain the advisability and cost of asking the Nadia and other Sanskrit Samities to render literary help.
3. To authorize me to arrange the foundation of a medal or scholarship to continue research on this valuable phase of the ancient history of man in India.
4. To authorize me to visit Kolhapur for research and record of results of local investigations.

Yours faithfully,
**Sd/-**

## APPENDIX No. 6 (b)

( From Karkhanis, J. R. to Shri B. A. Gupte )

K. R. O./F. No. 27

Delhi,
5th November, 1919.

Dear Bhaisaheb,

R. Bahadur R. V. Sabnis; Dewan of Kolhapur and dear Kaka-Deshpande have; I am informed by them; written to you about me. You [are] already acquainted with my elder brothers. I am coming there within a week. I have to stop at Agra and Allahabad. I shall let you-when I leave for Calcutta. As I am not acquainted with that place, I request you to send your man to the station ? He can know me by my Rumal (Head-dress) and pant and specs.

It would be better, I think; if I let you know beforehand, the information which I want, so that I shall not be required to stay there for long time. I am in hurry to return to Kolhapur as I am ordered by H. H. to finish my work as early as possible. May I therefore take the liberty of requesting you to collect information about the following points :

1. Grounds from Shastras to say that the caste-system in its present form; is not sanctioned by the Shastras.
2. Evils and hardships arising from the caste-system.
3. Duties of different castes according to Shastras. Effect of non-observance of these duties.
4. Reasons, laid down in the Shastras that lead to loss of caste.
5. If Manu is regarded as authority in matters of inheritance, adoption;& o; why not regard him as an authority in matters of caste also.
6. Objectionable passages from the ' Puranas ' & Co. that give wrong direction in matters of religion and morality & Co.

It has been held in a legal case; that the Kshytaria family who does not do its duties as laid down in the Shastras; reduced to the status of Sudras. I have to fight against this point. Hence this is the most important point to which I would like to draw your attention.

In this connection, let me say that I have gone through Manu, and " याज्ञावत्कथ ". I want to purchase these books that would be useful to me on these points.

Lastly I cannot but write and give vent to my personal feeling that I deem it a very luck and a great favour of His Highness, to get an opportunity of meeting such a learned and noble personage as your goodself of whom every body speaks so highly–you may not like to hear of your own praise. But this is a fact. Please excuse me for my inability, conceal my own feelings.

I am doing perfectly well. I have got a peon with me.

Hoping this finds you all in excellent health.

I remain,
Yours obediently,
**Sd/-**
( J. R. Karkhanis )

## APPENDIX No. 7

(From C. R. Reddy, Inspector General of Education in Mysore to Shri Shahu Maharaj )

K. R. O./F. No. 26./ L. No. 7.

Office of the Inspector General
of Education in Mysore,
Bangalore. 27.10.1919

Your Highness,

I wrote to your Highness' Private Secretary regarding my intended visit to your capital during X'Mas.

In that connection I have the honour to present the enclosed note of introduction from His Highness The Yuvaraja Saheb of Mysore.

With my dutiful compliments.

I beg to be
Yours Highness's devoted Servant,
C. R. Reddy.

## APPENDIX No. 8

(From Yuvaraja of Mysore to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

K. R. O./F. No. 26./L. No. 3

The Palace
(Seal) Bangalore,
23 Oct. 1919

Your Highness.

Mr. C. R. Reddy the Inspector General of Education in Mysore who will have the honour of presenting this to you; is on a visit to your Highness state. He is a great educationist and has very recently submitted his memorandum on the education policy of the state; which is being considered by the Mysore Government. I shall be highly gratified and obliged to your Highness if; without any inconvenience to yourself, you can see your way to extend any personal courtesy and cause other facilities to be afforded to enable him to take full advantage of his visit to your progressive state.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
**Sd/-**
(Yuvaraja of Mysore)

High Highness Col. Sir Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja,
G. C. I. E. G. C. S. I.
G. C. V. O. I. 2. D.

## APPENDIX No. 9

(From Maharaja of Travancore to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

K. R. O./F. No. 26./L. No. 8

The Palace.
Trivandrum
27th Oct. 1919.

(Seal)

Your Highness,

I thank your Highness for your letter of the 18th instant giving cover to a scheme prepared by Your Highness for the proposed Chamber of Princes. I have read it with great interest and am sure it will be of great help at the conference. It was very good of your Highness to have taken so much trouble in preparing a scheme like this.

With best regards.

I am;
Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
Maharaja of Travancore.

## APPENDIX No. 10

(From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Mr. Curtus, Mr. Griffith and Mr. Robertson)

K. R. O./F. No. 24./L. Nos. 316, 317, 318.

Kolhapur
18th July, 1919

My dear } Mr. Curtus.
Mr. Griffith.
Mr. Robertson.

I have heard that some persons whom I may call incarnations of Gandhi and Shradhanand are appearing on this side. It is heard that some Brahmin leaders have made a stronghold at Sangli and they are taking despositions about the Kulkarni affair as Gandhi's and Shradhanands people did. A new European may not understand but you can understand this. When the Brahmins saw that their fellow-religionists were trying to throw off their despotic yoke, they at once built a fortress near Sangli, i. e. the Willingdon College. Thus Tilak and these College leaders are trying to collect their army at the newly built fortress at Sangli and that is why the Kulkarni's have collected there and are taking despositions. Swami Kurtokoti also went there for shelter and found the shelter. Again, what we have done by starting the Arya-Samajist College here? We have done nothing. We have got only four new Professors. One is Mr. Nepalsing who is not a true Arya–Samajist, one is Christian and two are Arya–Samajist. One is a Konkanstha Brahmin and the whole show is run by three Konkansthas–Apte; Godbole and Kelkar. So our College would not at all be the desired antidote and it will take years to bring down this Konkanastha caste. I am more frightened by this Brahmin fortress of verdum at Sangli than by anything else. Messrs Belvi; Jinah and others mentioned by the Kesari must be helping them. This Brahmin stronghold is sure to press the Non–Brahmins; but we are still to fight. Discouragement will not save us and but will kill us.

Yours Sincerely.
**Sd/-**
**Shahu Chhatrapati.**

## APPENDIX No. 11

( From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Mr. Harrison )

K. R. O./F. No. 35./L. No. 123

Kolhapur
16th April, 1919

My Dear Harrison,

...But I had a touch of fever prevented by coming out and I have to rush off to Cawnpore this evening for presiding at the Kurmi Kshatriya Conference to be held there on the 19th instant.

Yours sincerely,
**Sd/-**
Shahu Maharaja

## APPENDIX No. 12

( From Sampatrao Gaikwar to Shri Shahu Maharaj )

K. R. O./F. No. 30. (1919)

Gwalior
19.3.19

My dear Maharaja,

I have great pleasure in introducing to your Highness Babu Shiv Prasad; retired Munshiram; Fatehgarh and Trilok Chand Katiyar. They are representatives of the Kurma Kshatriya Community residing in the Northern parts.

They themselves belong to the same stock as Rajputs in the North and Marathas in the Deccan. In these days of Union, it is not undesirable to search after the lost links and try to assimilate the dispressed members of the communal body. This will enable us to achieve our objects sooner than our individual efforts. The leaders of the community besides are not after pecuniary assistance. They only want to create a bond of sympathy and co-operation and their object is praise-worthy and commendable. Being apprised of their movements, I consented to preside at their 10th session. The presidency of a personage like your Highness would give a good impetus to their movement. You combine yourself both loyalty and leadership. I was very glad to learn at your consent to preside at their coming session; but feel grieved to hear that you are now unable to carry out your promise; I am told that your presidency has been circulated not only through the members but has gone over even official circles. It is besides natural that they have spent a good deal for your reception. You will then under any circumstances, kindly consider over the effects which your refusal will have on the mind of the people of the North; as also on the movement of the community. I would therefore urge your Highness to reconsider your decision and try to preside at their meeting. If necessary, you can ask them to change the dates to suit your convenience.

With regards,

Yours Sincerely,
Sd/-
( Sampatrao Gaikwar )

## APPENDIX No. 13

(From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Col. Wodehouse)

K. R. O./F. No. 34./L. No. 9. ( 1919 )

Bombay
19th Feb. 1919

My dear Col. Wodehouse,

Before I left I was not able to see you as my doctor advised me not to go in the dazzling sunlight and keep myself in the dark room. I hear that Paramanand was a follower of Lala Lajpatrai. If he is the same Paramanand who came to Kolhapur; certainly we should have anything to do with him; but if he is in the good grace of Government authorities at Agra, we won't mind.

The Brahmin Bureaucracy here has got so strong; a religious and educational hold over the Non-Brahmins that not even a few educated Non-Brahmins have the strength of character to go against them. Indeed some of them are foolish enough to play into the hands of these socials despots. Their religious hold over us does not allow us to break through this despotism; because our ladies and elders are all wholly under their control. Satya-Samaj; cannot break this Brahmin despotism as it has not got any religious foundation like Vedas which the Arya Samaj has got. The work of Satya-Samaj is chiefly to show the black side of the brutal priestly Bureaucracy which under the garb of religion goes so far as even to teach that a Brahmin can enjoy anybody's wife without the least idea of sin in his mind. The Puranas (Mythology) contain this dreadful and shameful doctrine. But even this the Non-Brahmins cannot openly denounce against. They have not got the strength of character to do so. Can you believe me when I say that the Editor of the Deccan Ryot who advocates as you know the cause of the Non-Brahmins, finds it difficult to get a place in POONA for his press. Here is an instance showing the Brahmin Bureaucracy tries to put down the man of independent spirit going against them. I quite admit that Mohomedans,

Arya–Samajists, Brahmins all have extremists among them. But Brahmins should have some rival extremists to unmask them and expose their religious frauds and that is why I encourage Arya–Samajists. Religious teachings of these sects are just like east and west. The Brahmin Bureaucrats say that the Presidency class alone, only by reason of their birth, should have all the power; religious as well as political, while Arya Samajists say that any man qualified by his work to wield such power should have that power. This the Brahmins, of course don't like at all. So the Brahmin extremists and those of the Arya Samaj will never be one. I for one do not like any extremist, but if a choice is to be made; I prefer an Arya Samaj extremist to a Brahmin one. When we want to perform any religious ceremony; the exclusive doctrines of the Brahmin bureaucracy come in the way, while a follower of the Arya Samaj teaches his own religious principles and performs all religious ceremons according to the Vedas; irrespective of caste. Thus the Deccan under the Brahmin bureaucracy will take root and grow. You know since my boyhood it has been my pride and a cherished object to over–rule and breakdown Brahmin bureaucracy and the complaint is that non–Brahmin boys have been detained and not allowed to go for the University examination. I have learnt here in the preliminary examination of the Matric Class the professors of my College put the boys some queer questions. In the history paper the boys were asked to give the causes that lead to the execution of Charles–II. For translation into English they set the passage supporting out and out the rigid caste-system. That shows what feelings are working in their minds and at the same time on what lines the students are being taught and educated. I would do all I can to put down such a spirit. If you look at the result of the last years matriculation examination you will see as I am told, that only two of the Non–Brahmin boys passed the examination in the whole of Poona City. That is why they want self-government and non–communal representation. Surely we are not to be the slaves and victims of the brutal Brahmin bureaucracy. To do so I shall select only such Arya Samajists as owe gratitude to Government. I learnt that in some place Arya Samajists have granted thousands of acres of

land to encourage them. Princes like Idar etc., have encouraged good Arya Samajists for the benefit of their subjects and I shall follow their example scrupulously excluding all men about whom there may be least suspicion. My only request to you is that you should see and talk with them, and see that they are the right sort of people. I being a follower of Arya Samaj shall consider this as a great favour. I write this because the Brahmins have begun to see and realise that the foundations of their supermacy are being sapped and they will make desperate efforts to prevent it. They may tell you all sorts of stories which should not be believed until you ask me and see the persons. It is but quite natural; their intriguing nature will prompt them to leave no stone unturned to ruin whoever comes in their way. As the KESARI once said with reference to me " even one's own child has to be cut to piece when there is a cross birth. " So all I pray is that if you hear anything about Arya Samajists in my state you will kindly see them and talk with them and all matters will be made clear.

Yours Sincerely,

**Sd/-**

( Shahu Chhatrapati )

## APPENDIX No. 14

(From the Maharaj of Bikaner to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

K. R. O./F. No. 18. (1918)

Lallbagh,
Bikaner,
(Seal) Rajputana.
11th September, 1918

Dear Maharajah Sahib,

I am very sorry to find that through an oversight of the office no formal reply to His Excellency the Viceroys Kharita received in September last on the subject of Minority Administration in the Indian States has yet been sent. And as I feel I must answer it now at an early date. I am considering what from the reply should take. But before issuing my letter finally, I should be very greateful if your Highness will let me have the benefit of your valuable advice on the subject and also favour me with a copy of the reply which your Highness has sent to the Kharita received by your Highness on the subject. I should further be obliged for a very early reply to this letter.

Apologizing for the trouble I am giving to Your Highness and with all good wishes.

Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/-**

## APPENDIX No. 15

(From Shri Shahu to Mr. Robertson)

K. R. O./File 1918./L No. (R-7144)

Kolhapur
19th Feb. 1918

My Dear Mr. Robertson,

The Brahmins here are, it seems quite resolved to be mischievous. They have published an order in which they want to prove that I am a great aristocrat and a bureaucrat. The order was never published in the Gazette. They should have waited to see it come in the Gazette, but instead of this the papers and all my enemies took up to ruin me. From Delhi I have sent you a resume of the causes which have led the Brahmins to hate me. Some people want to make out that the Recruiting Rules made by me are the cause of discontent, but it is not the cause, I assure you. I am going to explain my present system of Recruiting Rules made by me. It is likely to be misunderstood and you will see that it is a very nice one. I am also studying the subject and would make suggestions about the matters discussed in our last meeting at the Council Hall Bombay. I think that the Kulkarni of a village is a man who disapproves communal representation and such other movements by which the Brahmin loses his supremacy. He does not like that the religious yoke should be thrown off by other castes. With these things in view I have passed to-day an order that Talati system on British lines should be adopted here.

From the resume you will know that I have injured the Brahmin community and they naturally raise an out cry against me. I hope, however, that you will not listen to their stories and form your opinion this way or that way before hearing me. Please read this letter and the resume to His Excellency and explain to him my difficult position and my inability even to make friends with the Brahmin community.

I shall see you after studying the whole recruiting question and when I am ready with my suggestions.

I am sorry you did not give my recruits to my Regement, 103 Marathas.

P. S. Here is a Marathi weekly " विश्वबंधू ".

The editor is an ordinary man, but he is always against Tilkait views and for this attitude the paper has fallen down. I want to help it up. This also has given a fresh cause for Brahmin hatred.

Yours Sincerely,
Sd/-
(Shahu Chhatrapati)

*N. B.* : A similar copy of letter was also written to (Mr. Vincent).
R-7143.

## APPENDIX No. 16

(From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Col. Wodehouse)

K. R. O./F. No. 1918./L. No. (R. 7016 & 7017)

Kolhapur
19th January, 1918

My Dear Col. Wodehouse,

When I saw you last I spoke to you about the passive resistance and discontent, and that I want to break it by introducing Satya Shodak and Arya Samaj. The former has got no solid foundation while the Arya Samaj has got the foundation of Vedas. I am thinking of teaching Vedas to other casts [castes] meaning to say, that that is their religion which the Brahmins don't like at all. When I was last in Bombay, I came across a man named Pandit Atmaram from Baroda. He is lecturing here. He is in the service of the Maharaja of Baroda. I learn from him that the Arya Samaj is in the good grace of Government, the Panjab Government, having very recently given two thousand acres of land for the (शुद्धि सभा) purification branch of Arya Samaj at Sialkot and an annual grant of Rs. 20,000/- (Twenty Thousand) to the orphanage at Ferojpur in the Punjab conducted by the Samaj and similar to the orphanage at Bareiley in the U. P. The President and the Raja of Shahapura in Mewar is the Vice-President of the Paropkarini Sabha (परोपकारिणी सभा) at Ajmer. It is an all India Institution of the Samaj started by Dayanand Saraswati founder of the Arya Samaj. Kuwar Hukumsing who is a rich and influential Jagirdar is the President of the Samaj in U. P. and he has issued a circular order to the members of that Samaj whose number about 20 lacks, not to take any part in the Home Rule propaganda and it is obeyed by them. I have asked Pandit Atmaram to give us a man who would teach us Vedas and help the Satya Shodhak Samaj and be useful to teach the untouchables. He has given us a man named Swami Paramanand of Agra. As long as the other castes think that their Hindu religious performance such as Shradha Paksha; and other religious worships cannot be done without Brahmins their influence

can never lessened. And if Brahmin take up bicot and passive resistence with the help of other castes it cannot be broken up and so I want these Samajas to come and counteract at the Brahmins. Like Sir Pratapsinh, I am a believer of the Vedas and an admirer of Arya Samaj religious principles. I tried my best by obliging the Brahmins and giving them all good treatment but I find that they are all incorrigible and if I were to leave the things as they are their influence will never be lose. I am looking forward to get help from Sir Pratapsinh as soon as he returns from active service.

My sons were telling me that the Brahmins Savakars have started a bicot by refusing loans to agriculturists as they are being helped by the arbitration court for the recruiting purpose. Mr. Jadhav is taking the question by starting credit societies to help the agriculturists.

Government is helping the Arya Samaj because they do not dable in politics. They are religious and social body and are helpful to Government, in containing counteracting the extremists. That is why I an having them here. The effect of this will be seen in two or three months in Brahmin papers. They will raise now complaints against me. But I have to be firm. I have troubled you by writing this to you because the Brahmins may tell you different stories. I am coming to see you on Monday or Tuesday.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

**Sd/-**

(Shahu Chhatrapati)

## APPENDIX No. 17

(From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Ramswami Mudliar)

K. R. O. / F. No. 20 (1818–1922)

Kolhapur
7th January, 1922

My Dear Mr. Ramswami Mudliar,

Mr. Prabhavalkar who is now the officer in charge of the Tanjore case will give you all the information and show you the necessary papers in the case. You will kindly go through them and give your full consideration to them and let me have your opinion about the case.

In one of the issues of ' **JUSTICE** ' at Madras there appears an article against Mr. Shastri and every one here is attributing it to me and abusing me for the same. Such is the fate of being a leader of the Non–Brahmins.

Once more requesting you to give your best consideration to my case.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/–**
(Shahu Chhatrapati)

## APPENDIX No. 18

( From K. S. K. Iyengar to Mr. Sabnis Dewan of Kolhapur )

K. R. O./File No. 1920/L. No. R. 11425

Pondichery ( India )
19–2–1920

**UNITED INDIA AND INDIAN STATES**
( Published at Madras )

Editor's and Manager's Office,
Pondicherry,

Editors : K. S. K. Iyengar
Manager : Mrs. K. Iyengar

Dear Mr. Sabnis,

I wonder why it is I haven't had a line from you in reply to my letter of the 7th inst. I sincerely hope I haven't displeased you in any way. Next month at the beginning I am going to Gwalior on the invitation of H. H. the Scindia.

I would invite your attention to the last educational note on page 98 of yesterday's issue which is in reference to the Kolhapur College.

I hope you are well.

With kind regards,

I remain,
Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/–**
**( K. S. K. Iyengar )**

## APPENDIX No. 19

( From Rao Bahadur Sabnis to Shri Shahu Maharaj )

K. R. O./F. No. (1919).

'*CONFIDENTIAL*'

The Modern Hindu Hotel
High Ground,
Bangalore
10-3-1939

**Sir,**

I came here to consult Mr. Setlur advocate of Bombay, as we learnt in Bombay that he was the best authority on Hindu Law, especially the Math cases. Having come here, we learnt that Mr. Setlur is engaged in giving '**सहस्र भोजन**' to the Brahmins. There is a big fair held at Melekota, about 6 hours journey by rail and sixteen miles bullock cart journey. He has his full sympathies with the extremists. He is not likely to return here for a week. We find that many important cases have been decided by the Madras High Court so we are proceeding to Madras for consultation, the Jagatguru matter. Mr. Latthe who is the pleader in the Jagatguru case is accompanying me.

We also intend seeing Dr. Nair, [ T. M.] there by the way, we would try and take the opinion of the advocate general there.

I do not know if His Highness is there. This letter may kindly be submitted to H. H. Maharaja Saheb.

I beg to remain Sir,
Yours Most Humble Servant
**Sd/-**
( Rao Bahadur Sabnis )
Legal Adviser

Rao Bahadur Sabnis
B. A., C. I. E.
Diwan of Kolhapur,
Kolhapur.

## APPENDIX No. 21

(From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Colonel Wodehouse)

K. R. O./F. No. 19/L. No. 1/5

Kolhapur
11th January, 1919

My dear Colonel Wodehouse,

I am sorry I could not see you. I had been to Bombay for dental treatment and had a very bad time with the dentist. Having learnt there that Dr. Nair [T. M.] of Madras came there from England after seeing Sir George Clarke naturally I saw him. Being myself a friend and admirer a Lord Sydenham, I wanted to know all about him. Lord Sydenham, remembers me quite well. From different sources I learnt that if the despotic Brahmin bureaucracy of India does not allow communal representation; Lord Sydenham, Lord Curzon and others will see that the Bill does not stand in the Parliament. For the good of India, I hope, the Brahmin bureaucracy will give way to communal representation. I have invited Dr. Nair [T. M.] to come to Kolhapur for a day on his way back.

I am leaving here tomorrow for the Prince's conference at Delhi. I am fighting in the conference for the right of the smaller states to have representation in the Conference and the Council, and I am glad some of them have appreciated my attempt. I have to get information for my conference note and have consulted among others Mr. Abhyankar a pleader from Sangli who has studied the question and published a book on it. I write this because I may not be misunderstood or misrepresented; in case Mr. Abhyankar be an extremist.

Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
(Shahu Chhatrapati)

## APPENDIX No. 22

(From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Mr. Cadell)

K. R. O./F. No. 1919./L. No. 10/1.

Kolhapur
11th January, 1919

My Dear Mr. Cadell;

I just returned from Bombay where I had gone to consult my dentist. You know that I freely mix up with the labour-classes and merchants which very few princes do. You would like to know the people think about you. They think that if it is not for you there would have been food-riots. The actual brunt of controlling the famine and war conditions in this presidency fell upon you of course the Moderates think a great deal of you. But even the extremists have nothing to say against you, I myself think that you know the people very well and they trust you. Being open to argument without losing temper you have saved the situation. Many people consult you. Even men like me who are under you or have not anything to do with you consult you in matters. When I was in Bombay; I thought that food riots would come off, so that we made provisions for some days before hand. Bombay is the most difficult province to manage and when extremist papers were virulently attacking the recruiting measures the presidency got through the situation without any riots. Indeed all the credit of keeping the presidency quiet belongs to H. E. Lord Willingdon but the burnt of actual work no doubt fell upon you.

If we have not had the extremist papers we should have got better results in recruiting. Our presidency being moreover comparatively rich there was slow recruitment even amog the Marathas. The Maratha regiments were broken in the peace time and they had some what lost their military instinct. The Sikh and Gurkha regiments were kept intact. Still, in the long run the Marathas came to the front. So I think the Maratha regiments should not be disbanded even if the Army is reduced.

Lord Sydenham is very keen on having communal representation in the scheme of reforms. I heard from Dr. Nair [T. M.]; that Lord Curzon and Lord Lansdown also share his views. Dr. Nair [T. M.] is coming on his way back to Belgaum and Dharwar to canvass for communal representation as desired by his friends in England. He will also come to Kolhapur for a day.

I shall send my Princes Conference's Note, for your perusal.

Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
(Shahu Chhatrapati)

## APPENDIX No. 23

( Telegram from Shri Shahu Maharaj to Chitinis Dewan of Kolhapur )

K. R. O./F. No. 18./1918

Posts : TELEGRAPHS

**To,**

**Name** : Chitinis Esquire

& : (Care of ) Dr. NAIR

**Address** : CHANDANI CHOWK, DELHI.

WIRE HOW LONG THE CONFERENCE IS POSTPONED.

From : Sabinis Dewansaheb.

Signature & Address :

By order.
New Palace, Kolhapur
Date : 29-10-1918.

## APPENDIX No. 24

(From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Lord Chelmsford)

K. R. O./F. No. 1920/L. No. R-11313.

Kolhapur
19th January, 1920

My dear Lord Chelmsford;

I write to express how pained my brother Chiefs and myself are at the foolish remarks about your Lordship and your administration made by some extremists at their last Congress at Amritsar. Their utterances are most unjustifiable. They only breathe a spirit of hatred and bitterness and the attacks on your Lordship are evidently madewith a deliberate intention of maligning your Excellency. I cannot understand how such a body of men of culture and education should have blindly followed the lead of a few agitators who make their living by vilifying Government no matter when and how. They are utterly forgetful of your Excellency's beneficent work and real sympathies, for the people and genuine desire to make the Reform Act a success. They have freely indulged in making misrepresentations and mis-statements. None knows better than we Princes what pains Your Excellency has taken to bring into being and put on a sound basis our Prince's Conference. Your Lordship's consideration for our feelings and sentiment has been evident from the very great trouble you have been taking to preside at our Conferences throughout the whole session not withstanding your being hard pressed for time. This is but a single instance.

I am sure people here and in England who are acquainted with the hard and arduous work of your Excellency know well what value to attach to the made vituperations of this so called advanced wing of the Congress. It is clearly a gross abuse of the liberty of speech. I, for one, would put my foot down and sternly repress such malicious acts. Their wickedness for passes

all bounds. I beg of Your Excellency to forgive me for speaking [in] such terms. But really I have not been able to express a title [little] of what I feel.

I hope Your Lordship has a enjoyable tour and is none the worse for the stress and strain.

With Warm regards,

Believe me.

Yours Sincerely,

**Sd**/-

( Shahu Chhatrapati )

## APPENDIX No. 25

(From Claude H. Hill to Shri Shahu Maharaja)

K. R. O./F. No. 1920./L. No. R-11298.

Delhi
14th January, 1920

My Dear Maharaja,

I hope it is true that the Council of Princes will be inaugurated next year. As you know, this was more or less contemplated as a result of the deliberations of the Chief's Conference this year. I am not able to say at present what kind of cases will be taken up or what precisely its functions will be, but I understand that the chamber will in the meantime through a committee, propose for consideration rules of business and I have no doubt the matter will be duly considered and referred to those who are interested.

I am glad to hear that Sir Stuart and Lady Fraser are going to pay you a visit. I wish I could give you any definite dates as regards my own plans. As soon as I am able to make them you shall hear what they are and shall certainly put in the forefront of my plans the possibility of being able to visit Kolhapur. Lady Hill has not been quite so well since getting to Delhi as she was on the voyage out; which did her a lot of good, but I am hoping that she will show signs of improvement. She joins me in kindest regards and remembrances to you all.

Kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
**Sd/-**
(Claude H. Hill.)

## APPENDIX No. 26

( From Krishnaraja Wadiyar Maharaja of Mysore to
Shri Shahu Maharaja )

K. R. O./F. No. 25. 1919./L. No. 164.

The Palace
Mysore.
1st Nov. 1919.

My dear Maharaja,

I write to thank you for your letter of the 18th October; forwarding a scheme for the proposed Chamber of Princes which I shall go through with much interest.

Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
( Krishnaraja Wadiyar )

## APPENDIX No. 27

(From Maharaja of Travancore to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

K. R. O./F. No. 25. 1919.

The Palace
Trivandrum
27th Oct. 1919.

Your Highness,

I thank your Highness for your letter of the 28th instant cover to a scheme prepared by Your Highness for the proposed Chamber of Princes. I have read it with great interest and dam sure, it will be of great help at the Conference. It was very good of Your Highness to have so much trouble in preparing a scheme like this.

With best regards,

I am
Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
(Rana)
Maharaja of Travancore

## APPENDIX No. 28

(From the Maharaja of Cooch Behar to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

K. R. O./F. No. 26./L. No. 9.

Cooch Behar
27-10-1919

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

I thank you for your letter of the 22nd inst. and consider that your ideas on the subject of a " Chamber of Princes " is excellent. The general principles of your scheme appeal to me. I shall look forward to seeing Your Highness in Delhi.

Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
Maharaja of Cooch Behar,
West Bengal.

## APPENDIX No. 29

(From the Maharaja of Dhrangadhra to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

K. R. O./F. No. 26. 1919./L. No. 13.

Huzur . . . Office
Dhrangadhra
29th Oct. 1919

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

I am obliged to Your Highness for kindly sending me a copy of the Draft Scheme of the proposed Chamber of Princes; prepared by your Highness. I am sure it will prove very useful.

I remain,
Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/-**

## APPENDIX No. 30

( From Bhopal Singh, Maharaja of Ajaigarh to Shri Shahu )

K. R. O./F. No. 26./L. No. 14.

Rajmandir Palace
Ajaigarh State C.I.
29th Oct. 1919

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

With hearty thanks I acknowledge the receipt of Your Highness' kind letter of the 18th instant with its enclosures.

Indeed Your Highness has taken great trouble in preparing the Scheme containing suggestions to facilitate the discussions at the coming Conference, which is held chiefly for our common interest.

Trusting this finds Your Highness in the best of health.

I remain,
Yours Highness Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
(Bhopal Singh)
Sawa Maharaja of Ajaigarh.

## APPENDIX No. 31

(From Lord Chelmsford to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

K. R. O /F. No. 19./L. No. 11/1

Viceregal Lodge
Delhi
18th Nov. 1918

My dear Maharaja,

I have received your Highnes's letter of the 22nd October in which you request on behalf of the Princes, Chiefs, Jahagirdars and the landed gentry of the Bombay Presidency that His Excellency Lord Willingdon may be permitted to remain as Governor of Bombay for another term of 5 years. I am glad to know that Your Highness is so appreciative of the service which Lord Willingdon have rendered to the Presidency during His Excellency's tour of office, and the many tokens of respect and affection which have received must have occasioned them much gratification. I am sure however, that Your Highness and the other Princes and Chiefs in the Bombay Presidency will recognise that it would be impossible to cancell the appointment of Lord Willingdon as Governor of Madras, and I have no doubt that Sir George Lloyd you will find a friend to whom you will always be able to turn for help and advice in your difficulties.

Sincerely Yours,
**Sd/-**
( Chelmsford )

## APPENDIX No. 32

(From Lord S. M. Fraser to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

K. R. O./F. No. 1920/L. No. R-11315.

Government House
Mysore
20th Jan. 1920

My dear Maharaja,

In my last letter I proposed to avail myself of your very kind invitation by arriving at Kolhapur at 13.50 on 29th January and staying till 3rd February. As the time is now drawing near would you very kindly direct your Secretary to telegraph to me here whether the above proposal meets with your approval. Kindly mention the name of the Political Agent.

We leave this place on 28th for the Gersoppa Falls. Much looking forward to our meeting and with kindest regards from Lady Fraser.

Yours Very Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
(S. M. Fraser)

## APPENDIX No. 33

( From Madivalappa V. Navalgi to Shri Shahu Maharaj )

K. R. O./F. No. 1920./L. No. R-11376

Kolhapur
6th Feb. 1920

**From** : Madivalappa, V. Navalgi.

**To**

His Highness the Chhatrapati
Maharaja Saheb of Kolhapur,
Panhala Lodge,
Bombay.

Please Your Highness,

Find enclosed the welcome piece of poetry, specially composed by me in honour of the arrival of the worthy guest, Sir Fraser.

Unfortunately I did not get the least chance of personally presenting the lines to him. I do not know his exact address in Bombay and so I could not post the same to him even.

I humbly and respectfully request Your Highness to arrange for duly presenting the enclosed piece to our worthy guest.

Hoping to be excused.

I beg to remain,
Your Highness,
H. H. the Maharaja's most
humble and loyal servant.

## APPENDIX No. 34

( From Lord S. M. Fraser to Shri Shahu Maharaja )

K. R. O./F. No. 19./L. No. 6/1.

( THE RESIDENCY HYDERABAD )

The Residency Hyderabad
20th December, 1918

My dear Maharaja,

So many thanks for your letter of 10th Dec., and for kindly promising to have me supplied regularly with a copy of the ' **DECCAN RYOT** '. It is impossible to over-estimate in my opinion the importance of giving adequate public expression to the views of the Non–Brahmin classes particularly at present moment when the fate of communal representation is at stake.

I have followed with admiration the part which you are playing to assist your fellows in British India to obtain their share in the government of the country under the new scheme and if as I guess the ' **DECCAN RYOT** ' owes its existence in large measure to your support, you are to be congratulated on this further public service.

Bombay has given a wonderful demonstration of its affection for Lord and Lady Willingdon who deserve every bit of it and it is nice to think that we shall have next hot weather in Ootacammund. This will be my last season in the Nilgiris as I am due to retire in September next.

With kindest regards from Lady Fraser.

Yours Very Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
(S. M. Fraser)

## APPENDIX No. 35

( From S. M. Fraser to Shri Shahu Maharaj )

K. R. O./F. No./L. No. R. 3570.

The Residency
Trivandrum.
Travancore
(1909) [1919]

Above all, cheer up about the better prospectus of things at Dewas; which no doubt will come quite right in the lowest of time.

We are just now making a trip along the West Coast, a part of India I had not seen before. The scenery both in Cochin and Travancore along the back waters is lovely and when we reach Cape Camorin I shall be able to say that I have travelled from one end of India to the other.

Early in February we go over to Burma and my address for some time to come will be

C/o King King and Co.
Bombay.

I hope you will tell me how you get on.

God bless you,
With kindest regards from Mrs. Fraser.

Believe me.

My dear Maharaja
Yours Very Sincerely,
**Sd/-**
(S. M. Fraser)

*N. B.* The date available on this letter as to K. R. O. the date is only mentioned as (1909) [1919]

## APPENDIX No. 36

### Lord Curzon's Speech at the State Banquet at Gwalior

29th Nov. 1899

...But I also do not hesitate to say, wherever I go, that a return is owing for these advantages, and that security cannot be repaid by licence, or the guarantee of rights by the unchartered exercise of wrong. The native Chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the Imperial Organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain vis-a-vis of the Empire a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen Empress, vis-a-vis of his own people a frivolous on irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him, he must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects, that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest, and that his Gadi is not intended to be a divan (Dewan) of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground, or on the race-course, or in the European hotel. These may be his relaxations, and I do not say that they are not legitimate relaxations, but his real work, his princely duty, lies among his own people. By this test will be in the long run, as a political institution, PERISH OR SURVIVE.

LORD CURZON IN INDIA : A selection from
His Speeches
1898-1905, **Ed. W. Raleigh.**
p. 217-18.

Quoted by : Justice Vaidya
SHAHU LECTURE SERIES
SHIVAJI UNIVERSITY
KOLHAPUR

## APPENDIX No. 37

**Lord Curzon To Lord Hamilton.**

**29th August, 1900**

With reference to what you say about the Native Princes, I do not at all deprecate the remark that to a large extent we act as their school masters. It is not only true, but is inevitable. For what are they; for the most part, but a set of unruly and ignorant and rather undisciplined school boys ? What they want more than anything else is to schooled by a firm; but not unkindly hand, to be passed through at a public school in England, but which they have never had out here and to be weared, even by a grand motherly interference, from the frivolity and discipations of their normal life. I cannot conceive a more fatal policy than to leave them alone to go their own way, so that they may be an object lesson to their people. Why do their people want an object lesson at all ? What good will it do to them ? Already they are beginning to protest against the extravagance and tyranny of many of these rulers, and it is to us that they turn and ask for security and protection. I am always looking ahead in India. There is not a day of my life in which I do not say to myself, "what is going to happen in this country 20 years, or 50 years hence? And I say with the profoundest conviction that any Viceroy, or any Government, that adopted the attitude of letting all these Princes and Chiefs run their own ruin, would be heaping up immeasurable disaster in the future. We have embarked since Mutiny upon the policy of sustaining the Native states and Princes. We do so, not so much in the interests of the Princes themselves, who are often quite underserving of the compliment, as in the interests of the people; who are supposed to like the old traditions and dynasties and rule. But supposing we allow the confidence of the people in their rulers to be sapped, supposing we Native India to be governed by a horde of frivolous absentees who have lost the respect and affection of their own subjects;-what justification shall we have in such a case for maintaining the Native States at all ? No; in my judgement, so long as Lord Canning's policy is adhered to; so long as we regard the Native States and their Chiefs as an integral factor in our system; so long as we gurantee to them

a security enjoyed by other potentates in the world; so long are we bound to train and discipline, and control them; and so to fit them for the unique position which we have placed within their grasp. Believe me that the matter is looked in India by all thinking men; whether European or Native; from this point of view; the best Native papers are continuously arguing it, and I shall be very much surprised, if there is anything but approbation in them for the policy that I shadowed out. The sense of duty and responsibility is growing in them under the influence of our teaching; they are beginning to see that Princes cannot afford any more than Viceroys, to live exclusively in palaces, but that they must be out; and about; setting an example among their fellow creatures. Any severity that I may show to the ill doers will be more than compensated by my encouragement of the few and exceptional shining lights; and I hope; by adhering to the principles which I have laid down; and which I first foreshadowed in my speech at Gwalior last year; amid the enthusiastic acceptance of the press; both English and Native; to do something towards raising the whole tone and standard of the life of Native Princes in my time; and thereby to place their own future existence upon more durable foundations.

**Hamilton Paper** – *India Office Library, Vol. 17. No. 38.* (Private Letter).

Quote: *Ibid* – Justice Vaidya.

## APPENDIX No. 38

( From Shahu Maharaja to Mr. Ramswami Mudliar )

My dear Mr. Ramswami Mudliar,

You know I am a great admirer of Dr. Nair I have been thinking for a long time of making his memorial. I wish to give rupees 5000 from them interest of which a scholarships may be given to some deserving students. Of course the student must necessarily be a non Brahmin one. I leave it to you to select the student and what lines of studies he should take etc.

The scholarship may be named the Chhatrapati Shahu Scholarship in honour of the late Dr. Nair [T. M.]. I deem it an honour to myself that my name should be perfectually associated with a saintly man like Dr. Nair [T. M.]. His services to the non Brahmin community can never be forgotten and he will ever remain enshrined in the hearts of all the real non Brahmins.

Yours sincerely,
**Sd/-**
Shahu Chhtrapati.

*Note :* This note is found without date and number etc.

## APPENDIX No. 39

( From the Dewan of Kolhapur to [ of Shri Shahu Maharaj ]
Prabhavalkar emissary sent to Madras)

K. R. O./F. No. 20 (1918–1922)

Delhi
22–2–1922

My dear Prabhavalkar,

I am in receipt of your confidential letter dated the 17th instant.

I have already sent you a telegram informing you that Huzur has accepted the terms of Mr. Mudliar for his opinion in the case. The next day I sent your cheque for Rs. 500/– to be handed over to Mr. Mudliar in addition to Rs. 2000/– already sent to you for giving him. You might have received the cheque by now.

Whenever you are free from the work of the case, you will go to the library there and see if you can get any useful information from the parliamentary papers of Satara and Kolhapur. This work is substantial and useful to the Darbar.

Yours Sincerely,
**Sd**/–
Dewan of Kolhapur

## APPENDIX No. 40

(From Pratapa Simha Rajaha of Tanjore to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

K. R. O./Tanjore Case File.

"The Palace" Tanjore
Dated 10th Sept. 1922

**From :**

Shrimanth Raj Sri Pratap Simha Raja Sahib Avargal,
Junior Prince,
Palace,
Tanjore.

**To**

His Highness Chhatrapathi Maharaja of Kolhapur.
May it please Your Highness,

It was a great pleasure that we received your Highness's deputation at Tanjore and welcome them to our ancient city. We very well appreciate Your Highness magnanimity in Your Highness' desire as leader of the Kshatriya Maharathas and the Maharathas in general that we should establish our status as Kshatriyas and we know very well how this feeling was uppermost in the mind of Your Highness late father, His Highness.

Though we are amenable to the proposals and answers made by the Kolhapur deputation and our deputation we wish to bring to your Highness kind consideration the following suggestions. Your Highness will appreciate our meaning when we say that out of the present reli of the Tanjore dynasty, though not a Tanjore kingdom again some powerful Kshatriya houses should be established at Tanjore. Your Highness, I presume, has sent your Highness deputation to Tanjore more with a view to render timely help to a brother Kshatriya; though we also wish that you could not incurr any expense in the conduct of the litigation in O. S. No. 26 of 1912 in vain. In establishing the Kshatriyaship. The evidence let in by the 15th defendant goes a very great way, so it is our duty to see that Kolhapur Estate has not incurred any expense

in vain. In these circumstances we wish to suggest to Your Highness whether Your Highness may not be pleased to accept any less share than the one-fifth now proposed and accepted in view of Your Highness timely help.

I have herewith submitted another proposal and answer from wherein we think we express our intentions more clearly and bring forward our meaning more precisely and this shall be taken into consideration when the final agreement is drafted.

Your Highness' affectionately,

**Sd/-**

Pratapa Simha Rajah.

10-9-22.

## APPENDIX No. 41

(From Shri Shahu Maharaj to Lord Sydenham)

## MEMORANDUM

Kolhapur
September 1918

My Dear Lord Sydenham,

I have to thank Your Lordship for championing the cause of the dumb millions of India. Your close acquaintance with India and especially with Bombay, which is the political storm-centre of the country, has enabled Your Lordship to guage the situation correctly and to see the fallacy of applying the Western principles of equality to the priest-ridden and caste-divided illiterate millions of India. The Deccan has been for centuries groaning under the tyranny of the Brahmin priest who has seized supremacy in every way-in religious as well as secular matters, politics, commerce, education, banking etc. and so on. The masses of the country are not, therefore, free agents and unless special precautions are taken to safeguard their interests they are sure to fall an easy prey to the tyranny of their Brahman masters. Communal representation is the only way for safeguarding their interest in the Provincial and Imperial Councils. I may state some of the reasons why the Marathas are greatly in need of it :

Firstly. Although the British are the rulers of the country, the real power rests with the Brahman officers who pervade every rank of the service from the meanest clerk and the village accountant, the Kulkarni, to the highest offices and predominate even in the Councils. The other communities have to submit to this Brahman Bureaucracy and their tyranny is beyond description. The grievances of the non-brahmin communities do not reach the British Officers and even when they go to them the Brahman subordinate is a past master in the art of prejudicing his head against the complainant. Under such a bureaucratic rule of the Brahmans the Marathas and other backward commu-

nities have no chance to send their representatives to the enlarged Councils. The non-brahmins will have to vote in favour of Brahmin candidates whose caste-men know all the tricks of threatening, cajoling or inducing them. There is no remedy except communal representation, for a limited number of years at least. The elections for the Councils, Municipal and Local Boards are instances in point in which a Maratha very rarely succeeds.

Secondly. The Congress agitation forced Govt. to enlarge the councils under Morely-Minto-Scheme. The Congress has up to this time devoted its energies to further the cause of the Brahmin bureaucracy and the British Government have also unwittingly played into their hands. The Congress has closed its eyes to the needs of, and done nothing for, the submerged classes and the aims of their leaders are to strive to keep down the masses to perpetuate the bureaucratic rule of their community. Tilak's organ, **Kesari,** is condemning free and compulsory primary education and the Maharaja of Darbhanga is opposing tooth and nail in the Council of Behar any scheme of popular education. This is done with no other object but the preservation of the despotism of their community. And if Government persist in refusing communal representation the result will be to flood the Councils with the Brahmins whose ideal leaders are the two worthies who barefacedly oppose the interests of communities other than their own. This is sure to degrade the position of the non-Brahmins more and more. Communal Representation is, therefore, necessary to counteract all such tendencies.

Thirdly. It might be urged that Government will nominate members from the Maratha and other backward communities if they do not succeed in the general election. But I think that this expedient will not be very useful. Such a nominated member generally lacks the confidence which a successful fight at the poll gives. He is, moreover, most likely to play into the hands of the poll gives. He is, moreover, most likely to play into the hands of the powerful priestly bureaucracy. He may not care for the interests of a community which does not elect him. Moreover, the very fact that he is a Government nominee takes away from the value of his advocacy, however disinterested it may be. The

Brahmin bureaucrats are in the habit of accusing nominated members of being partisans and slaves of Government and thus try to lower such members in the popular esteem. An election through a limited communal electorate will create confidence in the Councillors who will be more and more self-reliant. And this the Brahmins do not want to their opposition to communal representation in due to this fear.

Fourthly. I may quote an instance to show how the Brahmin Bureaucracy kills self-respect. One Mr. Bagal, a Maratha LL. B., was a mamlatdar here and at that time he was very enthusiastic in the cause of the masses and was against the Brahmin supremacy. But when he left service and commenced to practise at the courts he found it expedient to change his angle of vision in order to curry favour with the Brahmin Judges and Magistrates and now he is a noted Brahmanophil in public. He dare not give expression to his real feelings. Mr. Latthe too, after commencing practice at the bar, has become altogether moderate in his attacks against the Brahmins. He was a zealous advocate of non-brahmans.

Many a time I have found to my mortification and chagrin that orders against the interests of the Brahmin Bureaucracy were intercepted or were so watered in the passage that they became uselesss. The reason was that the Brahmins were in possession of the records and they can quote precedents to support Brahmin claims and can suppress the precedents that will go against them.

Even high British officers and non-Brahmin States are powerless against the Brahmin bureaucracy. They dare not make any move lest the Brahmin Press will raise a howl against them and they are afraid of the higher officers whose Brahmin Assistants take precious care to have them prejudiced against innovation. This has come to such a pass that the British officer or State who dares to go against the Brahmins is looked upon as foolish or imprudent; for he forgets that he is standing on a very slippery ground. His Brahmin subordinates are to join with his enemies and bring him into trouble.

Fifthly. The principle that majorities have no need of separate representation does not hold good in a province where a

selfish minority is likely to get the power which is sure to be used to hold the majority in perpetual vassalage. The Maratha Community is numerically very strong in the Central Division. But it is weak as the number of men of independent views is very small. It can of course boast of a very small number of legal practitioners. The few, that now practise, realize that the whole weight of the Brahmin bureaucracy will be thrown against them if they resist and therefore young men are unwilling to begin practice at the bar. There is not, nor will there be, in my life-time at least, a single successful Maratha pleader in the whole of the Bombay Presidency. This shows the necessity of some special provision for the numerically strong Maratha Community to secure an adequate representation of their grievances.

It is difficult to realise the tyranny to which the millions of Marathas are subjected. In the villages, as Your Lordship knows, the Kulkarni or the village accountant regins supreme and none dare raise his voice against him. The village priest and the astrologer and their castemen are looked upon as Gods and the villagers have to feed them and pay them fees equally on joyous and sorrowful occasions. The secular and religious bondage is so very complete that the Maratha can hardly think for himself much less act for himself. But for the inborn loyalty of the Maratha, the willy Brahmin would have made a tool of him in his reasonable acts. It must be said to his credit that although the Maratha was never the recipient of any special favours at the hands of Government, he has ever remained loyal. To refuse communal representation to such a community who have been profusely shedding their blood on the fields of battle in the three continents in the cause of the Empire in tantamount to consigning these faithful people to the tender mercies of their hitherto oppressors. The Councils will be flooded with Brahmins who will have a dominating voice in the affairs of the departments handed over to them. All these departments will be exploited to the advantage of the favoured community and to the prejudice of the real supporters of Government. The non-Brahmins will have ultimately to submit to Brahmin influences and sacrifice their loyalty.

I, for myself, have done my best to free completely my subjects from the tender mercies of the village Kulkarni, Bhat (ritual priest)

and Joshi (hereditary village astrologer). The services of the first are commuted and are replaced by paid agency mainly recruited from non-Brahmin ranks who were specially trained for the work in anticipation of the change. By a proclamation the rayats are informed that they need not employ the village priest or the astrologer who will have no claims against them if they do not employ him. Thus liberty of conscience is given them. In the same way liberty of action is also given them by abolishing the hereditary rights of the village artisans whose inefficient work was very dearly paid for, by a portion of the produce.

I have also cancelled the rules that pressed very heavily against the Mahars and Mangs and Ramoshis who were described as the criminal tribes. The restriction upon their movements resulted in preventing them from taking to trade and forced some of their members to take to dishonesty and violence. By the by I may mention that the Boarding Institute for the untouchable classes named after your beloved lamented daughter is quite flourishing. I am sending a photo of the building from which Your Lordship will see that its inmates do not despise manual labour as they were apt to do when they took to books.

Very few can realise the influence of the Brahmin Bureaucracy as your Lordship does. Being very strong in every branch of the service, high or low, it has its ways and means to keep other communities down, who have to submit to their exactions and dare not raise a protest even when flagrant injustice is done to them. A merchant of Kolhapur was cheated by a Brahmin pleader. When asked to prosecute the latter the former said that he had no chance of success as the judges were Brahmins, the Police were Brahmins, the clerks were Brahmins and that instead of getting any redress of justice he would make himself a marked man and that he would have to bear the consequences of Brahmin revenge. Even when I asked him to prosecute the pleader he begged to be excused and refused to move in the matter. Similarly one Mr. Gandale, a Brahmin preached in public that it was good for the untouchable classes to remain so. Because a new mixed caste is seen springing up as a result of illegitimate connections between the two castes of Brahmins and Marathas, as the

two castes are touchables. I tried to bring Mr. Gandale to court for making such defamatory statements but no one dares take up the prosecution. This fear of the Brahmin bureaucracy is not entertained by the merchants or such other people along but it hunts even Princes. I crave your Lordship's indulgence for a little piece of personal boasting. I am the only Prince who is openly fighting against the Brahmin Bureaucracy although I do realise their power. They do not come forward themselves but they instigate the subjects against their Prince whose black side only the Brahmin Bureaucracy exposes.

The best way to break down this citadel of Brahmin power is to grant Communal Representation, not only in the Councils but also in all branches of the service, high or low. Whenever a chance occurs, preference should be given to qualified non-brahmins. It will not do to appoint a few non-brahmins to important places. This remedy is worse than the disease. Such an officer is between the anvil of his Brahmin staff and the hammer of the similar staff of the higher office. His staff forces him to take measures even against the interests of the masses and the poor fellow has to bear the responsibility. The remedy lies in granting proportionate communal representation in the subordinate and clerical staff also. Recruitment for the posts of the lowest clerks should be made from non-brahmins and for this purpose a list of eligible candidates from those communities should be maintained, and appointments made from among them until the non-brahmins get a percentage of posts in proportion to their numerical strength.

In the educational department also the Brahmin Bureaucracy comes in. All the school-masters are Brahmins. The Brahmin Bureaucracy here is not like the Priestly Bureaucracy. In Priestly Bureaucracy not only caste but learning is also necessary. A learned Brahmin becomes a priest. In the Brahmin Bureaucracy it is the caste alone that is required. However low, wicked, unhealthy, immoral a man he may be, being a Brahmin, he is supposed to be higher than a Prince or a General or an Admiral or any learned man of another caste. This Brahmin Bureaucracy for ages past had ordered that no non-brahmin should be taught anything even the three 'R's. The consequence is almost all the

colleges and high schools are for Brahmins though they are cosmopolitan. There are all Brahmins in them. Untouchables are not allowed to come in their precincts. Some other castes are allowed but their percentage is 1 to 100. Again I say there should be communal representation in service as there must be in councils at least for another 20 years. If no step is taken in that direction it will not be correct to say that the Princes rule India or I may even say that the British rule India but on the contrary it will be right to say that Brahmins rule India. Communal Representation is the only remedy.

If communal representation be not granted to the non-Brahmin communities in Maharashtra, all this trouble of Political Reform will end in strengthening the Brahmin Bureaucracy at the expense of the really loyal and faithful subjects of the Government.

The Shankaracharya of Kolhapur (Dr. Kurtkoti) is a learned man, but I must say that at heart he is a Brahmin of Brahmins. The other day he presided at a meeting held to support the Darbar in their action of doing away with Kulkarni and the President refused to communicate to me the resolution passed at the meeting to request the Darbar to investigate the conduct of the Kulkarni's and to give relief to a certain extent to the people who had to suffer at their hands. He had now openly joined the extremist Congress. As a religious head he ought not to dabble in politics; but a Brahman is very rapacious and wants to be supreme everywhere.

Even such an educated person like Mr. Rajwade, who poses to be a great historian, is no partial to his own caste and so envious towards other castes, that he has published some false and defamatory matter about the Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhu caste and the Mahomedans. Of course they are going to take steps against Mr. Rajwade but I only refer to the incident in order to show you the Brahman character.

I should have very much liked to speak and discuss these matters personally with Your Lordship but my only chance to do so seems to be if I am sent up by Government like the Maharaj of Patiala.

This letter has become very lengthy and I must now close, not, however, without making apologies to Your Lordship for its unusual length for which my only excuse is the gravity and urgency of the situation and the mementous issue involved.

May I request Your Lordship kindly to convey my respectful rememberances to Lady Sydenham, and with warm regards,

Believe me,
Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/-**

**P. S.** I hear that Sir John Hewett is coming over here in India, may I request your Lordship kindly to send to me a note of introduction to him ?

I herewith enclose a few copies of my letter so that you may please give one to Sir John Hewett and Sir Valentine Chirol and, if you think it unobjectionable, to Mr. Montague, with a request to all in my behalf to treat this as confidential as I do not want my name to come forward.

Yours Sincerely,

## APPENDIX No. 42

(From P. Theagaraja Chettiar to Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur–successor to Shri Shahu Maharaj)

**South Indian Federation** (City–Branch) (Madras)

Office No. 117
Armenian Street,
Madras,
25th May, 1922.

**To**

The Heir Apparent
Kolhapur Estate,
Kolhapur.

**Sir,**

I have the honour to communicate to you the following resolution passed at the meeting of the non–Brahmins of the City of Madras on Saturday the 20th inst. at "Soundarya" Mahal, Govindappa Naick Street, George Town Madras.

"That this meeting of the non–Brahmins of the City of Madras express their deep sense of the loss sustained by the untimely death of the Chatrapatti Maharaja of Kolhapur, and place on the record their warm appreciation and gratitude for the invaluable service rendered by him in the cause of the country and especially for the progress and welfare of the "Non–Brahmin Community."

Yours Sincerely,
**Sd/–**
P. Theagaraj Chettiar

## APPENDIX No. 43

(From the Editor of the **'Justice'** to Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur)

**" J U S T I C E "**

Telegrams
**" Justice "**
Publishers

Phone : 583.
Post Box. 760.
**Egmore P. O.**
Madras.
30th May, 1922.

" The South Indian Peoples Association Ltd. "

Your Highness' telegram addressed to Mr. Raman Pıllai was received by me yesterday. Unfortunately Mr. Pillai is away from Madras and is now lying with a touch of paralysis in his native place in Travancore. I thank your Highness, all the same, on his behalf, for the kind invitation and shall forward the telegram to him.

By the way, I assure Your Highness that, in the death of Your Highness' father, the non-Brahmins of this Presidency have lost a sincere friend and well wisher. They hope and trust that Your Highness will continue to extend the same sympathy and assistance to their movement that Your Highness' father was never wearied of giving.

Yours Truly
**Sd/-**
( Editor )

## APPENDIX No. 44

(From Ramaswami Mudaliar to Shri Rajaram Maharaj)

K. R. O./File. Rajaram Files. (1922–1924)

The Bridge House,
Richmond,
Surrey,
25th June, 1924.

Most Honoured and Respected Maharaja Saheb,

May I offer you my humble and respectful congratulations on the high honour of the Grand Commander of the Indian Empire which has been conferred on Your Highness. Your Highness is respected far more for your personal character and independence that for any honours that may be conferred upon Your Highness. The late Maharajah, whose acquintance I had the rare privilege and honour of possessing, had set such a high standard, and had brought the House of Kolhapur so prominently before the public eye, and had done so much in the social field to give hope and cheer to the depressed and backward classes, that, in the Madras Presidency, Kolhapur stands for all that it is just and all that is equitable. Your Highness has pleased the hearts of all people by announcing that, you are prepared to follow the footsteps of your great Father, and in your actions Your Highness has been steadily keeping that policy in view.

It gives all Your Highness' admirers and friends double satisfaction that the British Government has recognised the great good that Your Highness is doing to the country.

I need only add that I sincerely and fervently pray that Your Highness may be given long life and energy to carry through your democratic ideas.

I beg to remain,
Yours very truly,
**Sd/-**
( A. Ramaswami Mudaliar )

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAFIA

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

*A note on the Sources*

Most of the source material on the development of the non-Brahmin movement is to be found in **Kolhapur Record Office**, in Kolhapur. Much can be known from this material regarding the activities of Shri Shahu and his policy to-wards non-Brahmin politics. I was permitted to consult the *Shahu Daftar* and also the *Rajaram Daftar* before the Government of Maharashtra decided to Index them. The *Shahu Daftar* after 1913 is extremely valuable since it contains documents regarding his efforts to get Communal Representation granted by the British Government. Besides the *Daftars* there are also various *Huzur Orders* worth studying.

Newspapers such as '*Maratha*', '*Rashtramat*', '*Kal*', '*Kesari*', '*Dnyana Prakash*' in Maharashtra, and '*The Hindu*', '*The Madras Mail*', '*New India*', '*Citizen*', '*United India and Indian States*', and especially '*Justice*' in Madras are indispensable for a chronological study of non-Brahmin movement.

I was not permitted to consult the '*Justice*' Files ( for the period 1916-1922 ) which are available in **Madras Record Office**. I fail to understand as to why these important '*Justice*' Files of the initial period are not accessible and treated as confidential. I am confident that, if these are made available, the whole history of the non-Brahmin movement would be different from what it appears now. Shri Shahu was known to Madras through the columns of '*Justice*', the references to which are available in the **Kolhapur Record Office** ( Copies of the relevant letters are herewith appended. **Refer App. Nos.** 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 31, 34, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44.). It is a mystery as to why the '*Justice*' Files are nowhere available in a complete series. An examination of the

letters received especially by Rajaram Maharaj after Shri Shahu's death would certainly convince anyone of the significance of the material contained in the '*Justice*' Files. There is not much material available even regarding the origins and organization of the Justice Party in Madras.

In Maharashtra we have ample material in the form of books, biographies, autobiographies and pamplets. This study had to be based on the available resources in Maharashtra rather than that which is potentially available in Madras. There is ample scope for further research in this direction.

I found Eugene. F. Irschick's work "*Politics and Social Confict in South India*" very helpful, without which I doubt whether I would have been successful in interlinking the **'Satya-Shodhak Samaj'** and the '**Justice**' Party. The documents available in **Kolhapur Record Office** and in Eugene. F. Irschick's work form the basis of this work. Besides this Prof. A. B. Latthe's biography on Chh. Shahu Maharaj serves even to this day as a valuable hand book. Shri B. B. Jadhav's collection, '*Shahu Maharajanchi Bhashne*' (Marathi), helps the Shahu scholar in keeping to the right track. The '**Shahu Lecture Series**' in Shivaji University by P. B. Salunke, Dhananjay Keer, Justice Vaidya etc., helped me in developing the required perspective and insight in the real life and activities of Shri Shahu.

Finally, I should say that frequent discussions with numerous persons, particularly with Dr. A. G. Pawar, Ex. Vice-Chancellor of Shivaji University, were of immense help. Dr. Pawar, himself a great Shahu scholar and editor of "*Shahu Papers*", was to me a great source of inspiration throughout my work. My association with Shri. P. B. Salunke, M. L. C., has also helped me in understanding Shri Shahu in the right prespectives. Rao Bahadur Lad (Mama) M. M. of Belgaum was also of great assistance in my research work; he 'lent' me his memories of events related to the **(Satya Shodhak)** activities and introduced me to important personages associated with this movement.

# Unpublished Correspondence

*Works Consulted*

Following is the list of letters collected and referred from the **Kolhapur Record Office** from the various files. The files are not well-classified and numbered. Hence these files of *Shri Shahu* and *Shri Rajaram* are known as Shri *Shahu Daftar* and *Rajaram Daftar*. The letters which bear the numbers of the record office are stated wherever available. Otherwise the respective file numbers are mentioned. When these *Daftars* were examined the Govt. of Maharashtra had not Indexed them.

Yadav, K. N. District Judge, Shivapuri 26/2, Gwalior

TO

Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur.
Letter dated 26th Feb. 1920.
K. R. O/L. No. R. 11442.

Utaker Chhattarsigh Lallaji,
Secretary Depressed Classes Mission
Girgoan, Charni Road,
Bombay.

Arya Bhavan
Sandhurst Road
Bombay No. 4

TO

The Private Secretary to His Highness Maharaj of Kolhapur.
Letter dt. 12th. Feb. 1920.
K. R. O /L. No. 11407.

Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Col. Wodehouse Resident Kolhapur.
Letter dt. 19th. Jan. 1920.
K. R. O.,/L. No. 11312.

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Mrs. Ramabai Govind Ranade.

Letter dt. 18th. Jan. 1920.
K. R. O.,/L. No. 11311.

Gupte, B. A. Belvadere, Alipur Post Calcutta,

TO

Dewansaheb of Kolhapur.

dt. 21. 11. 1919.
K. R. O.,/File No. 27.

Gupte, B. A.; Belvedere; Alipur Post Calcutta,

TO

Council of Postgraduate Studies in Ethnography.
The Secretary, Council of Postgraduate Teaching in
Arts, Calcutta University.

Letter dt. 20.11.1919.

Shri Karkhanis, J. R., Delhi.

TO

B. A. Gupte, Kolhapur.

Letter dt. 5th. Nov. 1919.
K. R. O.,/File No. 27.

Reddy, C. R. Office of the Inspector General of
Education in Mysore.

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur.

Letter dt. 27th. Oct. 1919.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 26,/L. No. 7.

Yuvaraj of Mysore, The Palace, Bangalore.

TO

Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur.

Letter dt. 23rd. Oct. 1919.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 26,/L. No. 3.

Maharaj of Travancore, The Palace Trivandrum

TO

Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

Letter dt. 27th. Oct. 1919.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 26,/L. No. 8.

Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Mr. Curtis, Mr. Criffith and Mr. Robertson (3 copies.)

Letter dt. 18th. July, 1919.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 24,/L. No. 316,
317, 318.

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Mr. Harrison

Letter dt. 18th. April, 1919.
K. R O.,/F. No. 35.,/L. No. 123.

Gaikwar Sampatrao, Gwalior.

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

Letter dt. 19-3-1919.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 30,/1919

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Col. Wodehouse,

Dt. 19th. Feb. 1919.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 34,/L. No. 9.

Maharaj Lallbagh, Bikaner, Rajputana

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

Dt. 11th. Sept. 1918.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 18.

Shri Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Mr. Robertson

Dt 19th. Feb. 1918.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 1918,/L. No. R. 7144.
( A similar copy was also sent to Mr.
Vincent K. R. O.,/L. No. R. 7143 )

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Col. Wodehouse, Resident Kolhapur
Dt. 19th. Jan. 1918.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 1918,/L. No. 7016, and 7017.

Shri Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Ramswami Mudaliar
Dt. 7th. Jan. 1922.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 20.

Iyengar, K. S. K. Editor, **United India and Indian States,** (Published at Madras)

TO

Mr. Sabnis, Dewan of Kolhapur.
Dt. 19th. Feb. 1920.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 1920,/L. No. R. 11425.

Rao Bahadur Sabnis, B. A., C. I. E., Dewan of Kolhapur.
(Confidential)

The Modern Hindu Hostel
High Ground Bangalore.

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 10–3–1919.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 1919.

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Colonel Wodehouse Resident Kolhapur
Dt. 11th. Jan. 1919.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 19,/L. No. 1/5.

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Mr. Cadell.
Dt. 11th. Jan. 1919.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 1919./L. No. 10/1.

Telegram from Shri Shahu Maharaj

TO

Chitnis Esquire, Care of Dr. Nair, Chandani Chowk, Delhi
Dt. 29-10-1918.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 18.

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Lord Chelmsford

Dt. 19th. Jan. 1920.
K.R.O.,/File No. 1920./L.No.R. 11313.

Hill H. Claude, Delhi

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 14th. Jan. 1920.
K.R.O ,/File No.1920./L.No. R. 11298.

Wadiyar Krishnaraj, The Palace, Mysore

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 1st. Nov. 1919,
K. R. O.,/F. No. 25, (1919) L. No. 164.

Rana Maharaj of Travancore, The Palace, Trivandrum

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 27th. Oct. 1919.
K. R O.,/F. No. 25. 1919.

Maharaj Cooch Behar (West Bengal).

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 27.10.1919.
K. R. O., F. No. 26,/1919 L. No. 9.

Huzur Office, Dhrangadha (Gujarat)

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 29th. Oct. 1919.
K. R. O., F./ No. 26,/1919 L. No. 13.

Singh Bhopal (C. I.) Rajmandir Palace. Ajaigarh State,

Sawa Maharaj of Ajaigarh C. I. Madhya Pradesh.

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 29th. Oct. 1919.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 26,/1919 L. No. 14.

Lord Chelmsford, Viceregal Lodge Delhi

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
G. C. G. C. C. I. E., G. C. V. O. LL. D.
Dt. 18th. Nov. 1918.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 19,/L. No. 11/1.

Lord Fraser, S. M. Government House, Mysore

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 20th. Jan. 1920.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 1920/L. No. 11315.

Madivallappa V. Navalgi, Kolhapur

TO

His Highness the Chhatrapati Maharaj Saheb of Kolhapur
Dt. 6th. Feb. 1920.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 1920/L. No. R-11376.

Lord Fraser, S. M. The Residency Hyderabad.

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 20th. Dec. 1918.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 19,/L. No. 6/1.

Fraser, S. M. The Residency, Trivandrum, Travancore

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. (1909) [1919]
K. R. O.,/L. No. R. 3570.

( This letter does not bear any date due to getting heavily soiled. )

Lord Curzon's speech at State Banquet at Gwalior
29th. Nov. 1899.

Lord Curzon in India : A Selection from His Spechees.
1898–1905.
**Ed, Raleigh W. P.** 217-18.
opp. cit. Justice Vaida,
Shahu Lecture Series,
Shivaji University.

Lord Curzon to Lord Hamilton.

29th. August 1900.
Hamilton Papers, India Office Library,
Vol. 17, No. 38 ( Private Letter )
op. cit. From Shahu Lecture
Series–Justice Vaidya,
Shahu Lecture Series,
Shivaji University, Kolhapur.

**Kesari–** Translation of a letter printed in column 5, at page 3, of the issue of the Kesari, a Marathi Newspaper, dated 20th of August 1901, and having at the foot thereof a note as translated " This Newspaper was printed at the Arya Bhushan Printing Press in Budhwar (Peth) at Poona, and was Published at Kesari Office in Sadashiv Peth at Poona, by Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Re : In the High Court of Justice Kings Bench Division.
Between Bal Gangadhar Tilak.....Plaintiff

and

Sir Valentine Chirol and
Macmillan and Company Ltd. } Defendents
Vol. II, 1901–1909.

Translations or copies of Articles Editorial Notes, etc. in **'Kesari' 'Maratha' 'Rashtramat'** and **Kal.** Bombay–(1917) page 565–566.

**Note** from Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Mrs. Ramswami Mudliar (Madras)

Dewan of Kolhapur, Delhi

TO

Shri Prabhavalkar

Dt. 22–2–1922.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 20 (1918-22).

Shrimanth Rajashri Pratap Simha Raja Sahib Avargal
Junior Prince, Palace Tanjore.

TO

Shri Chhatrapati Shri Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur

Dt. 10–9–1922.
K. R. O.,/F. No. (Tanjore Case File)

**Memorandum** submitted by Shri Shahu Maharaj

TO

Lord Sydenham

Dt. Sept. 1918.

Sir P. T. Chettiar

**South Indian Federation**
(City Branch)
Office No. 117, Armenian Street,
Madras.

TO

The Heir Apparent, Kolhapur Estate, Kolhapur
Dt. 25th. May, 1922.
K.R.O.,/F. No. 1922 (Rajaram Files).

General Secretary, **South Indian Liberal Federation,** Trinchinopoly

TO

Shri Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 5-7-1922 (July-Sept.)
K. R. O.,/F. No. 1922 (Shahu Files)

The Editor " **JUSTICE** " Publisher " The South Indian Peoples Association Ltd.,"
Post Box 760, Egmore P. O.
Madras.

TO

Shri Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 30th. May, 1922.
K.R. O.,/F. No. 1922 (Rajaram Files).

Kalyansundara M. M. A. (Hons.) Kolhapur, Station,
Sabnis Bungalow,
Shahupuri, Kolhapur.

TO

Sir Sabnis R. V., Kt. C. I. E. Dewan of Kolhapur State,
Kolhapur.
Dt. 16th. July, 1925.
K. R. O.,/ File No. 3/222-1925.
(Rajaram Files).

Jadhav B. V. Fintone, Bombay

TO

Shri Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 24.1.1924.
K. R. O./ (Rajaram Files).

Shri Raja B. Venkata, Rayaba Naidu, Bahadur.
Zamindar North East Vallur
Pandigudem, Kistna District.

TO

Shri Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt.
K. R./O. F., No. (April-June)
Shahu Files, 1922.

Ramswami Mudaliar : The Bridge House, Richmond, Surrey.

TO

Shri Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 25th. June, 1924.
K. R. O.,/(Rajaram Files) (1922-1924).

Shri Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur, Government House, Guindy.

TO

Mr. Montgomerie.
Dt. 9th. Jan. 1921.
K. R. O.,/F. No. 1921

Bhonsle S. S., General Secretary Maratha Educational Conference, Belgaum

TO

Shri Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur
Dt. 14th. Dec. 1923.
K. R. O./(Rajaram Files) (1922–1924).

Shri Rajaram Maharaj of Kolhapur

TO

Ramswami Mudaliar. The Bridge House, Richmond, Surrey.
Dt. 7th· Aug. 1924.
(Rajaram Files) (1922–1924).

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**The Hindu** (Madras) Dec. 21st. 1925. "*The Crusader at Large.*" (Editorial).

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